INDIAN CULTURAL INFLUENCE IN CAMBODIA

BY

BIJAN RAJ CHATTERJI

Ph.D. (London), D.Lit. (Punjab)

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UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA
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RAMA VARMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE,
TRICHUR, COCHIN STATE.

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PREFACE

The present work was accepted by the University of London for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the year 1926. I have to express my obligation to Prof. H. H. Dodwell, University Professor of the History of British Possessions in Asia, under whom I worked in the London School of Oriental Studies. My grateful thanks are due to M. Georges Cœdès, General Secretary of the Royal Institute, Bangkok, whom I met in Siam and in Paris, for introducing me to this subject, and to Dr. C. O. Blagden, Dean of the School of Oriental Studies, for guiding me in my Indo-Javanese studies. It was through the kindness of Prof. Sylvain Lévi and Prof. Cabaton that I got into touch with the distinguished savants in Paris, who are the authorities on this subject, and I take this opportunity to record my indebtedness to them. I owe a good deal also to the generous help of Dr. Barnett and my friend Dr. P. C. Bagchi.

The Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate of the University of Calcutta have placed me

under great obligation by publishing this book. I am also glad to be able to testify gratefully to the promptness with which the University Press has printed the book and to the courtesy of Mr. Atul Chandra Ghatak, M.A., Superintendent of the University Press.

5, Wood Street,
Calcutta :
January 2, 1928.

Bijan Raj Chatterji

ABBREVIATIONS

B.C.A.I.	...	Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indo-Chine.
B.E.F.E.O.	...	Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient.
I.S.C.C.	...	Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campa et du Cambodge.
J.A.	...	Journal Asiatique.
N.E.	...	Notes d'Epigraphie by M. Finot.
Ç. e.	...	Çaka era (starting from 78 A.D.).

NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION

As regards the transliteration of Sanscrit words (from inscriptions) it should be noted that

c = च

ç = श

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INTRODUCTION

We do not find any reference to Kambuja (the Sanscrit name for Cambodia in the Indo-Chinese inscriptions) in Sanscrit literature. It may have been included in that vague term Suvarṇa-bhûmi (the Chryse of the Greek and Roman writers) which seems to mean generally the countries situated to the east of the Bay of Bengal. The coast of Farther India was the El Dorado of Indian adventurers from the times of the Jâtakas (some of which are at least as old as the 3rd century B.C.). The Mahâjanaka Jâtaka (Cambridge ed., VI, No. 539) and the Saṃkha Jâtaka (IV, No. 442) mention merchants taking ship from Benares and from Champa (Bhagalpur), sailing down the Ganges into the open sea, and then steering their course towards Suvarṇa-bhûmi. Kauṭilya in his Artha-Çâstra refers to Suvarṇa-Kuḍyaka as a country of rare and precious products. As Prof. Sylvain Lévi has pointed out,[1] this place is also mentioned in the Niddesa (a portion of the Pali canon probably of the first century A.D.) together with Suvarṇa-bhûmi, Java, and Vanka (an island near Sumatra) and was probably somewhere near Java. The allusions in the Râmâyaṇa to the Kirâtas,

[1] Prof. Sylvain Lévi, Ptolemé, Le Niddesa et La Brihat Kathâ, Etudes Asiatiques, 1925.

who lived on the Arakan coast on the heights of Mount Mandara (the region of Kirrhadia and Mont Maiandros of Ptolemy according to Prof. Lévi), and to Java are well-known. I need not mention the references to Sumatra, Suvarṇa-bhûmi, etc., in later works like Kathâ-sarit-sâgara. It is strange therefore that the history of the Hindu culture in Kambuja should be known to us only through the discoveries made in Cambodia itself in the latter half of the 19th century.

In 1570 a Dominican friar Gabriel Cuiroga of San Antonio discovered Angkor and described it as a deserted city in the midst of a forest known only to hunters. In 1672 a French priest of the name of Chevreuil describes Angkor Vat as a shrine where worship had been resumed by Buddhist monks.[1] But it was the rediscovery of Angkor by the French naturalist Henri Mouhot in 1861 which led to its being known by the Western world. Mouhot died shortly afterwards, and it is to the explorer Doudart de Lagrée that the credit is due of making the first discoveries (1866) of the Sanscrit inscriptions on which our knowledge of ancient Kambuja (Cambodia) is based. After his premature death, the work of collecting facsimiles of the inscriptions was continued by Dr. Harmand. The attention of Prof. Kern,

[1] M. Goloubieff, Introduction a la connaissance d'Angkor, 1922.

the great authority on ancient Java, was drawn to these facsimiles and in 1879 were deciphered for the first time a few of these Sanscrit inscriptions by this learned Orientalist.[1] The next year appeared the first work of M. Aymonier on Kambuja epigraphy, and by 1881 he had succeeded in deciphering the dates of accession of some of the important Khmer (the vernacular name for Cambodia) sovereigns. When he returned to France at the end of that year—the materials collected by him were carefully examined by MM. Barth, Senart, and Bergaigne. The report on this joint work read by M. Bergaigne in 1882, before the Societé Asiatique, was an important landmark in the work of reconstruction of Kambuja history. It gave a tentative chronology, dated the most ancient inscriptions fairly successfully, and emphasized the relations between Hinduism and Buddhism in ancient Kambuja. In 1883 appeared M. Aymonier's important work on Khmer (the old vernacular of Cambodia) inscriptions—"Quelques notions sur les inscriptions en vieux Khmer"—which was a valuable supplement to the information available from the Sanscrit inscriptions. Moreover he continued to send to Paris facsimiles which were examined by MM. Barth and Bergaigne. In 1885 appeared the first

[1] M. Finot, L'Epigraphie Indo-chinoise, B.E.F.E.O., t. xv, p. 113 and *seq*.

volume of the important work "Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campa et du Cambodge." This was the contribution of M. Barth. The preparation of the second volume had been entrusted to M. Bergaigne, but, before it could be published, this great scholar (to whom the restoration of the history of Kambuja is mainly due) perished while climbing the Alps. The papers left by him for the second volume were arranged and published by the collaboration of MM. Barth, Senart, and Sylvain Lévi. Since then M. Louis Finot has continued the work of Bergaigne in deciphering and editing the inscriptions, as they came to light, in his Notes d'Epigraphie. These have been published in the Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extreme Orient.

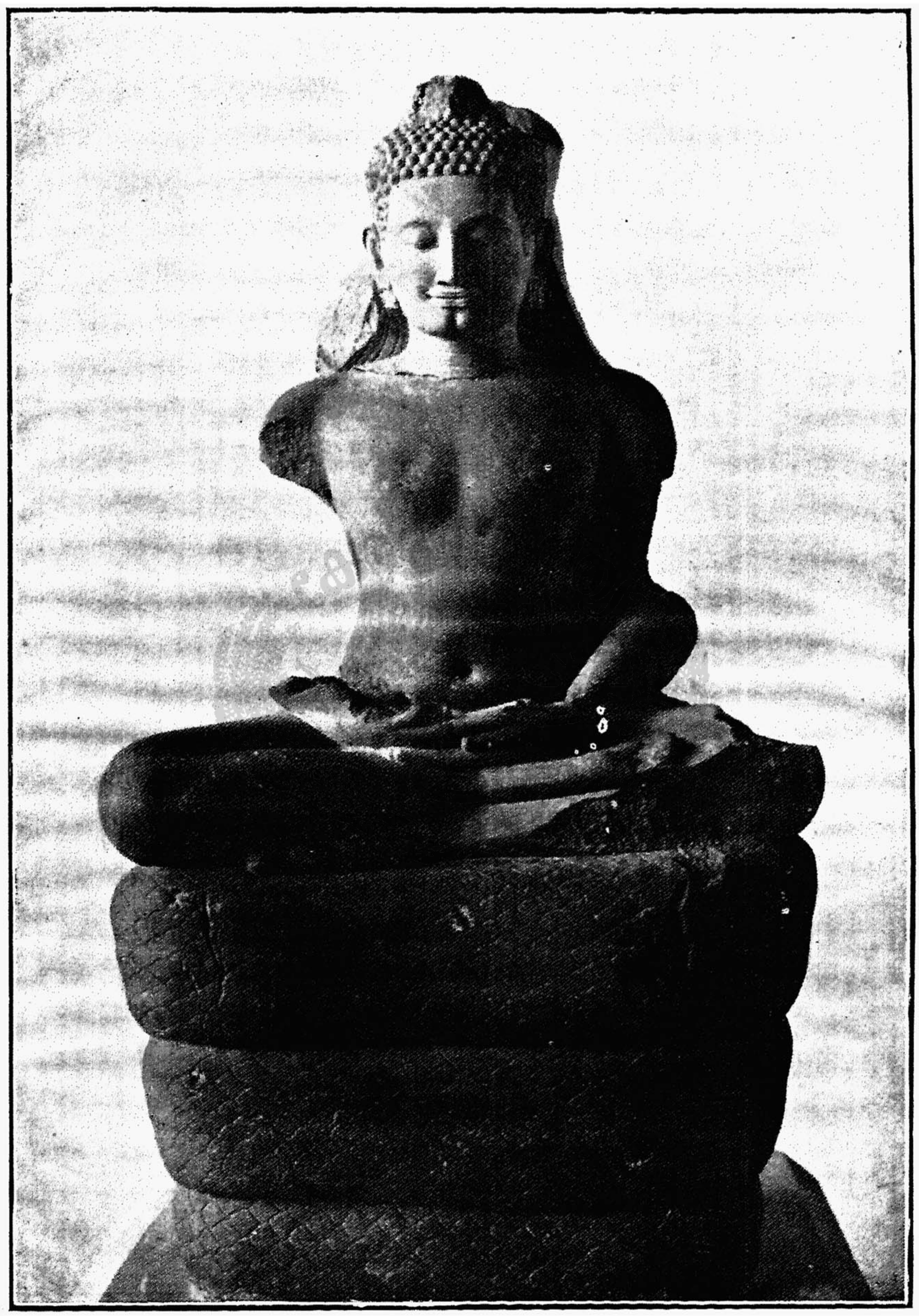
A very valuable contribution has been made to this task by M. Georges Cœdès in his rendering of the important Buddhist inscriptions of Kambuja and in his 'Études Cambodgiennes.'

We have the unique opportunity of checking to some extent the statements of the inscriptions, as regards the history of Kambuja, by information gathered from the inscriptions of the neighbouring kingdom of Champa (Annam), and from the Chinese chronicles. The Chinese annals are particularly valuable for the earlier and later period of Khmer history and we shall see that they generally confirm the statements

of the inscriptions. For these Chinese sources we are indebted to M. Rémusat (Nouveau Mélanges Asiatiques), Marquis d'Hervey de Saint Denys (traduction du *Wen hien tong kao* —Ethnographie des peuples etrangers—de Ma Touan-lin), and especially to M. Pelliot (Le Fou-nan, *Tchen-la fong-t'ou ki* (Mémoires sur les coutumes du Cambodge, etc.).

While reconstructing the history of Kambuja, the study of its art and architecture has not been neglected. Distinguished archæologists like MM. Lajonquière, Commaille, and Parmentier have paid special attention to this subject.

Very valuable work has thus been done by French savants as regards Indian influence in Indo-China. But, as M. Finot himself thinks, it should be the work of Indians to show how the ideas and institutions of India were transformed when introduced among foreign races. Again Ancient Kambuja should be studied along with Ancient Java and Sumatra—on which Dutch scholars have done splendid work. In the following pages an attempt has been made to work on these lines on a subject which is but little known in India.



BUDDHA SEATED ON THE COILS OF A NÁGA

(Found amongst the ruins of the Bayon)

CHAPTER I

Early Legends and Traditions

There are curious early legends and traditions concerning the origin of the Indian or Indianised states of Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago.

Funan is the Chinese name of one of these states, and it seems to have been the most powerful of them all. It covered an area much wider than that of the present Cambodia. There is a controversy as regards the relation between Kambuja (from which the name of Cambodia has been derived) and the ancient Funan. Some think that Kambuja is simply a later name of the kingdom known to the early Chinese chroniclers as Funan. But the prevailing opinion is that Kambuja was a vassal state which in the 6th century A.D. threw off the yoke of Funan, and gradually annexed the central provinces of the suzerain state which soon ceased to exist.

The history of the Southern Tsi (Nan Tsi Chu), compiled in the beginning of the 5th

century, mentions the following local tradition of Funan as regards the origin of that kingdom. This passage is probably based on the account of two Chinese ambassadors who visited Funan about the middle of the third century A.D.

Kaundinya—the founder of Funan.

"Of old this country had for sovereign a woman of the name of Lieou-ye. Then there was a man of the country of Ki, Houen-t'ien, who dreamt that a god gave him a bow and bade him embark on a junk and go out on the sea. In the morning Houen-t'ien went to the temple of the god and found a bow. Then he embarked on a junk and sailed towards Funan. Lieou-ye saw the junk and led her troops to resist him. But Houen-t'ien raised his bow and shot an arrow which, passing through the side of a boat, struck somebody within. Lieou-ye was frightened and submitted. Houen-t'ien married her. He wrapped her in a piece of cloth as she had no clothing."[1]

Now Houen-t'ien is an exact transcription of Kaundinya. The country Ki is not known. Another chronicle mentions Kiso which might mean the kingdoms which were far off.

The legend and the name Kaundinya reappears in an inscription of Champa, dated

[1] Pelliot, Le Founan, p. 275 (B.E.F.E.O., t. iii).

658 A. D., relating to the foundation of Bhavapura—the capital of Kambuja. "It was there that Kaundinya, the greatest of the Brahmans, planted the javelin which he had received from Açvatthâman, the son of Drona. There was a daughter of the Nâga king of the name of Somâ who founded a royal race on this earth. The great Brahman Kaundinya married her for the accomplishment of the rites."[1]

It may be suggested that this legend passed from Kambuja to Champa after the marriage of the princess of Kambuja, Çri Çarvâni, daughter of King Içânavarman, to the prince of Champa Çri Jagaddharma (afterwards king of Champa with the title of Vikrântavarman). The legend reproduces therefore the genealogical tradition officially accepted at the Kambuja court in the 7th century.[2]

A Prince from Indraprastha.

In the Kambuja Annals, which disappeared during the wars of the 18th century and were rewritten towards the end of it and which partly embodies old traditions, the following account appears of the origin of the kingdom :—

"Adityâvaṃça, king of Indraprastha (Delhi), being displeased with one of his sons, Prah

[1] Inscr. of Mi So'n, No. III, B E.F.E.O., IV, 919.

[2] Finot, Sur quelques Traditions Indo-Chinoises, Bul. de C. Arch., de l'Indochine, 1910, p. 32.

Thong, drove him out of his kingdom. The prince arrived in the country of Kok Thlok (the Khmer name of Kambuja meaning the land of the Thlok tree) where ruled a Cham prince who was soon dispossessed of his throne by the newcomer. One evening, caught unawares by the tide on the sea-shore, he was obliged to spend the night there. A Nâgi of marvellous beauty came to play on the beach. The prince fell in love with her and was married to her. The Nâga-râja, father of the Nâgi, expanded the kingdom of his son-in-law by drinking off the water which covered the country, built for him a capital and changed the name of the country into Kambuja."

It may be mentioned here that the capital of Kambuja, Angkor (Sanscrit Nagar), was also known as Indraprasthapura.[1] In Ptolemy's map of Trans-Gangetic India, a tribe known as Indraprathai is located in the north of Central Indo-China.

Nāga Ancestors.

The origin of the Çailendra dynasty of Çrivijaya (with its headquarters at Palembang in S.E. Sumatra) seems also to be associated with the Nâga tradition. In the Chu-fan-chi

[1] Aymonier, Une notice sur le Cambodge (the introduction to his Dictionnaire Fraçais-Cambodgien, 1874).

of Chao Jou-Koua, a work on Chinese trade in the 12th century, it is stated :—"They (the people of San-fo-tsi or Çrivijâya) gave the title of 'long-tsing' to their king." Now the word "long-tsing" according to Pelliot means "the seed of the Nâga."[1]

The old Tamil poem Manimegalai mentions a town Nâgapuram in Çavaka-nâdu which is the Tamil name for Java. Two kings of Nâga-puram are mentioned—Bhumi Chandra and Punyarâja—who claimed descent from Indra.[2] This Nâgi legend is found, on the other hand, among the Pallavas of Kanchi. There are two inscriptions dating from the 9th century giving the genealogy of the Pallava kings. According to the first, Açvatthâman, the son of Drona, married a Nâgi and their offspring was Skanda-çiṣya, the legendary ancestor of the Pallava kings. The second inscription, found in North Arcot, says that Virukarcha married a Nâgi and obtained from her the insignia of royalty and that after him came Skandaçiṣya.[3] In Kambuja the Nâgi is the founder of a new race of kings. At Kânchi the Nâgi gives the insignia of royalty to Virukarcha. We must also remember that there must have been a close

[1] G. Ferrand, L'Empire Sumatranais de Çrivijaya, p. 11.

[2] Dr. Vogel, The Yupa Inscriptions of King Mulavarman from Kutei (E. Borneo).

[3] Etudes Cambodgiennes, B. E. F. E. O., t. xi, p. 393.

connection between the kingdoms of Indo-China, the Archipelago and Pallava kingdom of Kâncipuram as is evidenced by the same script found in the inscriptions of all these countries and by the title of Varman borne by the rulers of these kingdoms. As Prof. Coedes points out,[1] "The Cambodian legend of the Nâgi brings us back to the Pallava court." And we have seen that the legend extends to the Archipelago as well.

The tradition of the Nâgi ancestress of the kings of Kambuja survived up to the 13th century as we see from the accounts of Cheou Ta-Kouan, who accompanied the ambassador of Kublai Khan, the Emperor of China, to Angkor—the capital of Kambuja.[2] "In the palace there is a golden tower at the top of which is the bed-chamber of the king. The natives say that there exists in the tower the spirit of a serpent with nine hoods which owns the soil of the whole kingdom. Every night it appears in the form of a woman...If it fails to appear it means that the death of the king is imminent."

Sculptured representations of Nâgas with many hoods are to be found everywhere in Indo-China to this day. Perhaps they commemorate the memory of the Nâgi ancestress. As we shall see later on there were kings both of the

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] B.E.F.E.O., t. ii, p. 145—Memoires de Tcheou Ta-Kouan.

lunar and the solar race in Kambuja. The kings of Funan belonged to the lunar race and traced their origin to the Nâgi Somâ and Kaundinya. Perhaps the name Somâ (Soma in Sanscrit meaning the moon) suggested the idea of linking up the dynasty with the lunar race of the Mahâbhârata. The kings of Kambuja (as distinguished from Funan) had a separate genealogical tradition. Their ancestors were represented to be the great sage (maharṣi) Kambu and the apsarâ Merâ. This couple founded the solar dynasty. The name of the country Kambuja was also said to be derived from the name of the ṛiṣi. But as Finot points out [1] this tradition did not last long. It appears in one or two inscriptions (especially in the inscription of Baksei Camkron, dated 947 A.D.) and then it dies out leaving the field to the older legend of the Nâgi. Perhaps the kings of Kambuja wanted to be remembered by posterity as the lineal descendants of the sovereigns of Funan. Even now in wedding ceremonies the names of the Nâgi Somâ and the Brahman Kaundinya are mentioned as part of the ritual.[2]

Kaundinyas in Funan and Poli.

By the by the Liang annals (502-556) of China say that the family name of the king of

[1] Sur Quelques Traditions Indo-Chinoises, Bul. de Com. Arch. de l'Indo-Chine, 1911, p. 34.

[2] Aymonier, Hist. de l'Ancien Cambodge, p. 11.

Poli (a state in the Archipelago) was Kaundinya. They mention also a native tradition that the wife of Suddhodana, the father of Buddha, was a lady from their country. It is interesting to note that Kaundinya was the name of the maternal uncle of the Buddha. Can it be that the princes of Poli were immigrants from India who claimed relationship with Buddha? A letter to the Emperor of China from the king of Poli in 518 A.D. is certainly fervently Buddhist in tone.[1] Now there are two Polis—one in the north-east of Sumatra and the other in the north-west of Borneo. We do not know which is meant. We know from a Sanscrit inscription found at Kutei in Borneo dating probably from the early fifth century A.D. that a Hindu king of the name of Kundagga was ruling on the east coast of Borneo.

Again Chinese annals state that a second Kaundinya came to Funan about 400 A.D. and that he completely changed the laws and customs of the state modelling them on those of India.

Ṛiṣi Founders of Kingdoms.

Finot gives other instances of traditions ascribing the foundation of Indo-Chinese States

[1] Notes on the Mâlay Archipelago by W. P. Groenveldt (Essays relating to Indo-China, repr. for the Straits branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 2nd Series, Vol. I, 1887).

to great ṛiṣis.[1] In Siam the ancestors of the people were said to be two Brahmans who, after having peopled ten villages with their offspring, selected a king, Pathamarâja, and then retired from the cares of the world for tapasyâ. One finds also two Râjarṣis associated with the origin of the kingdom of Thaton (Sudharmanagara). The elder finds on the sea-shore two eggs (of a Nâgi?) and from one of the eggs is hatched a child who later on founds the state of Thaton. Then again a king of Thaton marries the daughter of a magician (a Brahman?) and of a Nâgi, who had been abandoned in a forest while yet an infant and who had been brought up by a hermit, and the offspring of this marriage founded the kingdom of Hamsâvati (Pegu).

As regards Champa, a Sanskrit inscription discovered at Dong Duong (in the ancient province of Amarâvati), dated 875 A.D., gives the following legend. A certain Bhṛgu had been sent down from heaven to the earth by Iça (Çiva) to consecrate the linga of Çambhubhadreçvara. Afterwards Çambhu, with a smile, sends Uroja (another ṛiṣi residing in heaven) in his turn to look after the sacred linga. "Thou art fortunate, Uroja," says Çiva, "go down on the earth and take the kingdom." The inscription goes on:—"It is from Uroja descended

1 Sur Quelques Traditions Indo-chinoises, B.C.A.I., 1911, p. 36.

from Çiva himself, that all the rulers trace their descent who since then have occupied the throne of Campâpura."[1]

Java and Kambuja.

Finally it may be conjectured that Kambuja and perhaps Champa too received Indian immigrants and Indian culture not directly from India but from Indian colonies in Java. In the Râmâyana Java is mentioned last in the list of the countries situated in the Far East. An embassy from Java (Yatiao = Yapdiv according to Pelliot) arrived at the Chinese Court in 132 A.D.[2] The name of the Javanese king who sent this embassy was Tiao Pien which is quite possibly the Chinese transcription of Deva Varman.[3] This would then be the earliest embassy from the Hindu or Hinduised states of Indo-China and the Archipelago to the Imperial Court of China. And lastly, an old Khmer legend, quoted by Lagree,[4] speaks of the Chvea-pre'ahm, or Java Brahmans, coming from that island to the Khmer country and founding a kingdom there (which however was ruled by a succession of six Cham kings). The Brahmans,

[1] G. Maspero, Le Royaume de Champa, p. 58.

[2] "Bulletin Critique," Toung-pao, 1912, a criticism of Hirth and Rockhill's Chau Ju-kua.

[3] G. Ferrand, Journ. Asiatique, 1916, pp. 521-530.

[4] Explorations et missions de Doudard de Lagree, p. 10,

says the legend, had long hair and a dark complexion and they claimed to belong to Pareanosey (Vârânasi or Benares). The Cham kings (whose names also end in Varman) were driven out by the fugitive prince from Indraprastha who married the daughter of the Nâga-râja.

Finally it may be mentioned that M. Pelliot, in his latest researches on the Chinese texts containing references to the book written by the Chinese ambassador K'ang Tai (who visited Funan in the 3rd century A. D.), seems to come to the conclusion that Kaundinya did not come directly from India but from some place in the Malay Archipelago known to the Chinese as Heng-tie or Mo-fou. This was to the south-east of Yeou-po (Java?) where, according to the Chinese text, "the walled cities, jewels and customs were the same as in India." [1]

[1] Pelliot, Quelques Textes Chinoises concernant l'Indo-chine Hindouisée, Etudes Asiatiques, 1925, t. ii, pp. 247-248.

CHAPTER II

FUNAN

Though the accounts of the Chinese chronicles about the origin of Funan are of a semi-legendary character, they show clearly the impact of a superior civilisation on a primitive people. We have heard of Queen Lieou-ye (the Chinese translate her name as the Willow-leaf) sharing the realm with the stranger Houen-t'ien (Kaundinya) who worshipped the spirits or the "genii" by which name the Chinese designate the gods of the Brahmanic cult. The time of his coming cannot be later than the first century A.D., as far as we can calculate from the dates of the reigns of his successors to the throne of Funan. This is the period of the first contact with India.[1]

The son of Lieou-ye and Houen-t'ien (Kaundinya) claimed allegiance from seven towns. But the control of the central power over the vassals seems to have been rather weak, for one of the successors of Houen-t'ien, Houen p'an-houang (the first part of his name shows his

[1] Pelliot's Le Founan is the main authority for this chapter. See B.E.F.E.O., t. iii, p. 248 *et seq.*

descent from Houen-t'ien), succeeded only in reducing the seven towns to submission by sowing discord among them. This king certainly reigned in the second century A.D. and he died at the advanced age of 90. His son P'an-p'an entrusted the cares of the state to the general Fan-man[1] or Fan-che-man and when he died after a brief reign of three years the general was raised to the throne by the people.

It was under Fan-che-man that the power of Funan reached its high water mark. The History of the Leang says about him :—"He was brave and able and by force he reduced to submission the neighbouring kingdoms. All (princes) were his vassals. He assumed the title of the Great King of Funan. He had large ships constructed and went all over the great ocean and attacked more than ten kingdoms. He extended his territory by five or six thousand li. Then he wished to conquer the "Golden Frontier" [probably the Sonaparântâ of the Burmese, which is derived from the Suvarnabhumī of the Pali texts, which designates the Maulmein-Martaban region (Thaton)]. But he fell ill." He died shortly afterwards. He seems to have conquered a large part of the Malay Peninsula.

[1] *Ibid*, p. 265. Nearly all the succeeding kings of Funan are given the title of Fan by the Chinese chronicles. It was also applied to the kings of Champa from about this time.

Vassal States of Funan.

Probably it was during his reign that some of the neighbouring kingdoms became vassal states of Funan. The same Leang annals say:—"On the southern frontier of Funan at a distance of 3,000 li there is the kingdom of Touen-sien. There are five kings. All are vassals of Funan...On its western side it touches India...Merchants come there in great numbers to transact business...This market is the meeting-ground of the east and the west...Every day there are in this place more than five thousand persons...Rare objects, precious merchandise, everything is to be found there."

Pelliot and Schlegel both think that there was transhipment of merchandise across the isthmus of Kra—the Chinese junks not yet venturing to go straight from the coast of Annam to the Straits of Molucca. Schlegel proposes to identify Touen-sien with Tenasserim. A country with a name very like it (Tien-souen and which probably is identical with it) is mentioned among the realms conquered by Fan-che-man. In another Chinese work there is a reference to this Kingdom of Touen-sien. It is mentioned as a dependency of Funan. "More than a thousand Brahmans from India reside there. The people follow their doctrines

and give them their daughters in marriage. They read their sacred books day and night." [1]

Then another country is mentioned—Pi-kien beyond Touen-sien and 8,000 li from Funan. Pelliot thinks it was in the Irawaddy region. It is represented as producing gold, and golden vessels of enormous size were sent frequently as presents to the king of Funan by the king of Pi-kien. This King (of Pi-kien) is supposed to be a supernatural being, holy and omniscient. "He knew how to write (books like) Indian texts. The (text written by the king) had 3,000 words and resembled the sutras of the Buddha. His subjects however were cannibals."

Embassy from Funan to India.

After the death of the Great King Fan-cheman, which occurred probably about 225 A.D., another general, Fan Chan, usurped the throne. Fan Chan entered into direct official relations with the kings of India. A certain Kia-siang-li is mentioned by a Chinese book of the 5th century [2] as having come through India to Funan from a country to the west of India. This stranger told Fan Chan about the great wealth of India, the progress the Law had made there and the esteem in which it was held by other

[1] Pelliot, Le Founan, p. 279.

[2] Pelliot, Le Founan, pp. 277-278 (B.E.F.E.O., t. iii).

countries. He replied to the king's questions that it was 30,000 li from Funan and that it would take four years to go there and return to Funan. The king's curiosity was roused and he sent as ambassador to India one of his relations Su Wu.[1]

In the history of the Leang we find :—"From Funan Su Wu started from the port of Teou-Kiu-li (probably Takkola, which, according to Dr. Blagden and other scholars, was on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula to the north of the isthmus of Kra[2]; this shows how far south in the Malay Peninsula the influence of Funan extended). He followed the great curve of the shore towards the north-west, entered a great bay on the borders of which there were several kingdoms. At the end of more than one year he reached the mouth of the river of India. He went up the stream for 7,000 li and reached his destination. The king of India was surprised and exclaimed, "What! there exist such men on the shores of the furthest seas!" He gave an order to show them the interior of the kingdom. Afterwards he sent two persons, one of whom was Chen-song, to offer in return to Fan Chan a present of four horses of the country of the Yue-che; and he

[1] *Ibid*, p. 292.

[2] Prof. Sylvain Levi, Ptolemée, Le Niddesa et La Bṛhatkatha, Etudes Asiatiques (1925), t. ii, p. 4.

sent back Su Wu and the others. After an absence of four years they came back."[1] This mission from Funan to India took place in the period 240-245 A.D.

The Chinese and Indian Ambassadors in Funan.

At this time when the Emperor of the Wou dynasty, Souen K'iuan (222-251), was reigning, K'ang Tai and Chou Ying were sent on an embassy to Funan. This was in the period 245-50.[2] They met the Indian Chen-song and asked him about the customs of India.[3] He replied :—

"That is a country where the law of Buddha prospers. The people there are straightforward and the land is very fertile. The title of the king is Meou-loun. The capital has a double enclosure of ramparts. Streams and sources of water supply are divided into a large number of winding canals which flow into the ditches under the walls (of the city) and thence into a great stream. The palaces and temples are adorned with sculptured and engraved decorations. In

[1] Pelliot, Le Founan, p. 271.

[2] *Ibid*, p 303.

[3] In the history of the Leang (Le Founan, p. 271) we find that during the reign of the emperor Ho (89-105 A.D.) there were several embassies from India which came through Central Asia. Afterwards under Houan-li (147-167) the embassies came by the southern seas.

the streets, the markets, the villages, the houses, the inns and in towns one sees bells and tambours of joyous sound, rich dresses and fragrant flowers. The merchants come there by land and sea and assemble in great numbers and offer for sale jewels and all the objects of luxury which the heart can desire. To the right and left there are six great kingdoms, those of Kia-wei (Kapilavastu), Che-wei (Çravasti), etc. Several kingdoms, even though situated at a distance of 2,000 or 3,000 li from India, obey the king, as they consider this kingdom to be situated in the centre of the universe."[1]

The description of the kingdom or the title of the king does not give anything which can be exactly identified. The only word which phonetically corresponds closely to Meou-loun, according to Prof. Sylvain Levi, is the name of a race in ancient India—the Murundas. Ptolemy places the Maroundai on the left bank of the Ganges to the north of the river Sarabos or Sarayu. Prof. Levi quotes a Jaina work which names Pataliputra as the residence of the Murunda-râja. This agrees with Ptolemy's description. The name of the Murunda dynasty is found in the dynastic lists in the Puranas. There were 13 princes belonging to this dynasty and the Vayu Purana states that they ruled 350

[1] Prof. Sylvain Levi on Les Murundas in "Melanges, Charles de Harlez," pp. 176-185.

years. A Jaina saint cured a Murunda king in the first century A.D., and the Murundas are mentioned as vassals in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta.[1]

Such was the single official relation between India and Indo-China.

When the Chinese ambassadors K'ang Tai and Chou Ying reached Funan, King Fan Chan was already dead. This was about 245 A.D. In 243 A.D. the king had sent an embassy to China with a present of musicians, etc.[2] After a bloody civil war following on Fan Chan's death, the general Fan Siun had ascended the throne. The Chinese ambassadors remarked to him :—"The kingdom indeed is beautiful but it is strange that the men are so indecent." They had found that the men had no clothing though the women wrapped themselves in something like a sheet. Fan Siun then issued an order that the men should not go about naked. K'ang Tai, the head of this mission, wrote a book about what he had seen or heard of more than a hundred kingdoms. On his account is based the information transmitted from historian to historian as regards the early history of Funan. It is from the date of this embassy (245-250 A.D.)

[1] As in Hemachandra's dictionary the Murundas are mentioned as inhabiting Lampaka (Laghman), Prof. Levi thinks that they were originally inhabitants of Afganistan. The Tibetan Taranatha mentions a Murunda mountain near Chitral (Udyana).

[2] Le Founan, p. 303.

that we get an apprcximate chronology of the early kings of Funan. Unhappily this book of K'ang Tai has disappeared.

There is a description of the country of Funan in the history of the Tsin dynasty (265-419 A.D.) which is certainly based on K'ang Tai's Book:—"The territory is 3,000 li in width. There are walled cities, palaces and houses. The men are ugly and black and their hair is curly. They go about naked and bare-footed. They are simple and do not steal. They resort to agriculture. Besides they are fond of engraving ornaments and of chiselling. Many of the utensils, which they use for taking their meals, are of silver. Taxes are paid in gold, silver, pearls and perfumes. They have books, archives, etc. Their alphabet resembles that of the Hou (a Central Asiatic tribe which had the Indian alphabet). Their marriage and funeral ceremonies are on the whole the same as in Linyi (Champa).[1]

Fan Siun's reign was a long one. He sent an embassy in 287 A. D. He made an alliance with Champa. For when the Emperor wanted to reduce the military expenditure on the southern frontier, the Governor of Tonkin sent a memorial (in 280) protesting that Linyi (Champa) and Funan were neighbouring

[1] Le Founan, p. 254.

countries, that their tribes were very numerous, that they assisted one another, and that they did not submit to China.

After Fan Siun there is a blank of more than 50 years. Probably it was a period of anarchy as we find in 357 the "Indian" Chan-tan (Chandana) "calling himself king," sending an embassy to the Imperial Court. The embassy offered a present of tame elephants. But by an Imperial decree the elephants were returned as it was feared that they might cause harm to the subjects of the Emperor. After this there was no embassy from Funan till 434 A. D.

Another Kaundinya.

Meanwhile however a great change had taken place in the kingdom. The History of Leang (502-556) mentions a tradition which the Chinese must have heard in the fifth century. "Kaundinya, a Brahman of India, heard a supernatural voice calling to him : ' You must go and reign in Funan." Kaundinya rejoiced in his heart and reached P'an P'an which is to the south. The people of Funan heard of him ; the whole kingdom was stirred with joy ; they came to him and chose him king. He changed all the rules according to the methods of India." As this Kaundinya is named as a successor of Chandana, who sent an embassy in 357, and as

a predecessor of the king who sent the next embassy in 434, he probably came from India to Funan towards the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century.

The history of the Song (420-478) mentions a king Che-li-pa-mo (pa-mo at least can be identified with Varman) who was in frequent diplomatic relations with China from 434 onwards. Probably it was he who refused to aid with his troops the King of Champa who invoked his help for an attack he had planned on Tonkin.

The History of the Southern Tsi (479-501) gives us much more information about one of his successors. It states :—"About 478 the king of Funan has for his family name Kaundinya and for his personal name Jayavarman (Cho-ye-pa-mo). He sent merchants to trade in Canton. On their return voyage the Indian monk Nâgasena joined them to return to his country. But a gale forced them to land in Champa (Linyi) where they were robbed of everything. Nâgasena was however able to cross over to Funan."

The Monk Nâgasena in China.

"In 484 A. D. Jayavarman sent the Indian monk Çâkya Nâgasena to present a memorial (in the Imperial Court) which began with a panegyric of the Emperor as one of the patrons of

Buddhism, in whose empire the Law flourished more and more. It stated that a subject of the King of Funan had fled to Champa, had conquered the country and was in open revolt against his former sovereign. The memorial goes on "shall a rat occupy the lion's throne? I request that troops may be sent to overthrow the wicked rebel." [1]

Presents were sent to the Imperial Court among which was a gold model of the throne of the serpent-king (Nâga-râja).

Nâgasena, on arriving at the Chinese capital, said that the cult of the god Maheçvara flourished in his country. The god had his perpetual abode on Mount Motan where auspicious trees grew in great abundance. From this hallowed place the might of the god descended on the earth and all the people were quiet.

After this eulogy of Maheçvara Nâgasena passes on quite abruptly to talk of a Bodhisattva :—"Originally of humble origin since he (the Bodhisattva) manifested a heart worthy of bodhi he has reached the stage which the two vehicles cannot attain." "The fruits (of his piety) have liberated the masses from worldly ties (saṃsâra)...The reforming influence of the Buddha extends over ten regions, there is not one who does not receive his aid."

[1] The chronicles which refer to Linyi Champa) describe this usurper as a son of the King of Funan.

The Emperor replied :—"Yes, Maheçvara manifests his marvellous power and confers his gifts on that country (Funan). Though these are foreign customs I praise them from far off with profound joy." The request of the king of Funan for military aid was transmitted to a tribunal for disposal, but we find that nothing came out of it.

Then the History of the Southern Tsi gives a paragraph on the people and custom of Funan :—"For merchandise they have gold, silver and silks. Persons of high family dress themselves in brocade...The people make rings and bracelets of gold and vessels of silver. They cut down trees for making their houses. The king lives in a pavilion of several storeys. The people live in houses raised from the ground ...When the king goes out he rides on an elephant...For the sake of amusement they make cocks and pigs fight. They have no prisons. In cases of dispute golden rings and eggs are thrown into boiling water and they have to be taken out by the culprit who will be unharmed if innocent." Other forms of trial by ordeal are also described.

Chinese Title for the King of Funan.

According to the History of the Leang (502-556), in 503 A. D., after receiving another

embassy from Jayavarman, an imperial order was issued :—"The king of Funan, Kaundinya Jayavarman, lives in the extreme limits of the ocean. From generation to generation he and his ancestors have governed the distant countries of the South. And their sincerity is manifest even from a distance...It is fit to show in return some favour and to confer on him a glorious title. This can be done by the title of General of the pacified South, King of Funan."

Then the religious and funeral ceremonies of the people are described :—"They adore the genii of heaven. Of these divinities they make images of bronze ; some of them have two faces and four arms, others have four faces and eight arms. In each hand something is held...For mourning the custom is to shave the beard and the hair. There are four methods of disposal of the dead : (1) throwing the dead body into a flowing stream, (2) burning it to ashes, (3) burying it in the ground, (4) exposing it to the birds."

Buddhist Monks from Funan in China.

It was during the reign of Jayavarman that two famous Buddhist monks of Funan went to China to translate the scriptures. Their translations are yet to be found in the (Chinese)

Tripitaka.[1] One of them was of the name of Sanghapâla or Sanghavarman. He came to China in a junk. As he knew several languages the Emperor Wou of the Leang dynasty ordered him to translate sacred books, from 506 to 512 A.D., in five different places, one of which bore the name of the office of Funan. He died in 524. The other monk from Funan was Mandra or Mandrasena. He arrived at the Chinese capital in 503 and afterwards was commanded by the Emperor Wou to collaborate with Sanghapâla in the work of translating the scriptures. But he could never acquire a good knowledge of the Chinese language.

"Jayavarman died in 514 A.D.," says the History of Leang, "Rudravarman, the son of a concubine, after slaying his younger brother (the son of a real queen), usurped the throne. He sent several embassies...In 539 A.D. he sent information to the Imperial Court that in his country there was a long hair of Buddha. By an Imperial order a monk was sent in search of it."

Kambuja overthrows Funan.

The History of Souei (589-618) contains a brief reference to Funan and the first mention

[1] Nanio, Catalogue, Appendix II, Nos. 101 and 102, quoted in Le Founan, pp. 284, 285.

of Chenla (thė Chinese name for Kambuja) :— "Chen-la is south-west of Linyi (Champa). It was originally a vassal state of Funan. The family name of the king is Kshatriya, his personal name is Chitrasena. Under his ancestors this kingdom became more and more powerful. Chitrasena reduced Funan to submission. His son Içânasena succeeded him. He lived in Içânapura."[1]

The New History of the T'ang (618-906) is the last official chronicle which mentions Funan. It says that the capital of Funan, Tomu, was suddenly seized by Chen-la and that the king of Funan had to withdraw further south to the town of Na-fou-na (Navanagar?). The last embassy from Funan came to the court of a T'ang Emperor during the first half of the 7th century. It brought a present of two white men who belonged to a country west of Funan.[2] After this Funan seems to have been merged in the new Khmer kingdom.

I-tsing, who travelled in these regions during 671-695 A. D., writes :—"Leaving Champa and going towards the south-west the country of Pa-nan is reached. Formerly this was called Funan. In ancient times it was the country of the naked men. The people worshipped many Devas. Then the law of Buddha prospered

[1] Le Funan, p. 272.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 274.

and expanded. But at the present time a wicked king has completely destroyed it and there are no more monks."[1]

This is all that we know of Funan. The name Funan itself may have been derived from the Khmer word Phnom or Bhnam which means a hill. We shall see later on the importance attached to sacred hills in Kambuja. And the country was often called by the name of its capital, as Kambuja was in its early days known as Içânapura or Bhavapura. It is quite likely that the capital of Funan with its sacred hill (Nâgasena does mention a hill Motan sacred to Maheçvra) lent its name to the country.

Finally it may be noted that the title Pan or Fan given by the Chinese to the kings of Funan (it is also applied to the kings of Champa) is possibly the phonetical equivalent of the Sanskrit title Varman.

[1] I-tsing, ed. by Takakasu, p. 10.

CHAPTER III

THE EARLY KINGS OF KAMBUJA

After Kambu, from whom the name of the country has been derived, the earliest king from whom the kings of Kambuja trace their descent is one Çrutavarman. Thus in the eleventh stanza of the inscription of Baksei Camkron, which is dated 869 ç. e. (çaka era) (947 A. D.) and which gives a long genealogy going back several centuries, occurs the passage : " Honour Kambu Svayambhuva endowed with an eminent glory, whose celebrated lineage, bringing about the alliance of the solar and the lunar race, dissipates the obscurities of all the Çastras....." In the twelfth stanza is the eulogy of Merâ " the most glorious of Apsaras" whom Hara gave for wife to the great sage Kambu. The 13th stanza states : " Those who bear the burden of the land of Kambu and who have Çrutavarman for root (Çrutavarmanmula), boasting of having delivered the native (or original) country from the chains of tribute, ...shine like incarnations of the long-armed Hari." This delivering from the chains of tribute probably refers to the throwing off of

the yoke of Funan. The next two stanzas continue the panegyric of the descendants of Çrutavarman. In the 16th stanza we find that to this first dynasty succeeds another series of kings having Rudravarman as the chief of their branch. They are described as deriving their origin from Kaundinya and Somâ (the daughter of Soma).[1]

The inscription of Ta-Prohm [2] dated 1108 ç.e. (1186 A.D.), also mentions Çrutavarman as the father of Çreshṭhavarman, the sovereign (adhirâja) of Çreshṭhapura. In the 6th stanza we find :—"He was a king whom the lords of the earth, bearers of the unbreakable sceptres of Manu, should honour, excelling among the learned, the son of Çrutavarman : Çreshṭhavarman (by name), excelling in pure glory, the source of a brilliant line of kings." The next stanza gives :—"The sun of the heaven which is the family of Kambu, born on the mountain Jayâdityapura, as the sun rises from Udayagiri, he (Çreshṭhavarman) caused the hearts of all living creatures to wake up as (the sun awakens) the lotus, he who is full of spirit and energy, the supreme king of Çreshṭhapura."[3] In the

[1] Ed. by Coedes, J. A., May-June, 1909.

[2] Ed. by Coedes, B.E.F.E.O. (Jan-June), 1906.

[3] This Çreshthapura seems to be then the place of origin of the solar dynasty, *i.e.*, of the Kambuja Kings (as distinguished from the monarchs of Funan). From the inscription of Vat Phu (B.E F.E.O., XV. II, p. 107), we learn that Vat Phu was in the district (Viṣaya) of

eighth stanza is the account of the Princess Kambuja-râja-lakṣmi, "born in the maternal family of this king, where her fame shone like moonbeams on the sea waves, the first among the chaste women, whose splendour was like (or who reigned like) that of Lakṣmi herself." In the 9th stanza Bhavavarman is mentioned, "the lord of Bhavapura, with effulgent glory illuminating the universe, versed in all the arts, like the moon driving away the heat (misery) from which his subjects would have suffered, he who was the founder of a line of kings."

Rudravarman and Bhavavarman.

Çrutavarman and Çreṣṭhavarman are known to us only by name. We know nothing else about them. Rudravarman and Bhavavarman are however quite familiar to us from many sources and it is with them that the history of Kambuja really begins. The inscription of Ang Chumnik (I.S.C.C., p. 66), dated 589 ç. e. (667 A D.), and which is one of the earliest dated inscriptions, gives a series of five kings who ruled one after another. The names of the kings are: Rudravarman, Bhavavarman, Mahendravarman, Içânavarman and Jayavarman. The inscription mentions that two brothers

Çreṣthapura. Therefore Çreṣthapura (and the original Chenla) was in the north—Vat Phu being near Bassac in Laos north-east of present Cambodia.

Brahmadatta and Brahmasiṃha were court physicians of King Rudravarman. The sons of their sister, Dharmadeva and Siṃhadeva, were ministers of Bhavavarman and Mahendravarman. Siṃhavira, the son of Dharmadeva, was the minister of Içânavarman. Siṃhadatta, the son of Siṃhavira, was the physician of Jayavarman and was the Governor of Adhyapura (the old name of Ang Chumnik) It was the last who dedicated a temple to Çiva Vijayeçvara at this place and who was the author of this inscription.

Now from Chinese sources we know that Rudravarman was one of the last kings of Funan, that Citrasena of Chenla reduced Funan to submission and that Içânasena was his successor. The inscription of Phou Lokhon [1] (Laos) tells us that Citrasena was the earlier name of Mahendravarman before he ascended the throne. An earlier inscription [2] (without date) gives us the name of Citrasena as having dedicated a Çivalinga on the bank of the Makong. We know from an inscription of Vat Chakret [3] that Içânavarman was reigning in 626 A.D.

So far the Chinese accounts and the information we can derive from the inscriptions of Kambuja tally. There is no mention however of Bhavavarman, the predecessor and elder

[1] B. E. F.E.O., t. III p. 445.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 212.
[3] I.S.C.C., p. 40.

brother of Citrasena (Mahendravarman), in the Chinese annals. This probably can be accounted for by the fact that the Chinese only came into direct contact with Chenla during the reign of Içânavarman the son of Citrasena. Citrasena was perhaps the commander-in-chief of the army of his elder brother Bhavavarman in the war which led to the subjugation of Funan by Chenla and this might have led the Chinese historians to think of him as the conqueror of Funan. We know from an inscription [1] that Bhavavarman came to power by force of arms and from another that he was not the descendant of his immediate predecessor Rudravarman but was the son of Viravarman who does not seem to have reigned.[2] As the inscriptions of Bhavavarman have been found scattered over a wide area and as some of them manifest a warlike tone we may conclude that it was Bhavavarman, a prince of Chenla, who became the paramount sovereign after striking a death-blow to the supremacy of Funan.

The inscription of Ta Prohm (12th century A.D.), we have already seen, mentions Bhavavarman as the founder of a line of kings. In the much earlier inscription of Ang Chumnik (7th century) Bhavavarman is mentioned as the successor of Rudravarman. In the inscription

[1] I.S.C.C., XI, p. 67, stanza 5.
[2] *Ibid*, IV, p. 30.

of Baksei Chamkron (10th century A.D.), which we have also cited, Rudravarman is the chief of a dynastic branch. Pelliot reconciles these statements by the explanation that Bhavavarman, after his conquest of Funan, claimed descent from the royal family of Funan so that officially there was no break after Rudravarman. Even in the most early inscriptions Bhavavarman is mentioned as belonging to the lunar dynasty to which the kings of Funan also belonged. Prof. Coedes thinks however that the Rudravarman of the Baksei Chamkron inscription is not the Rudravarman of Funan of the 6th century, but is a prince of the 8th century who is a founder of a new dynasty (being the grandfather of Indravarman I, king of Kambuja, 877-889 A.D.). This seems to be correct.

Early Sanscrit Inscriptions of Kambuja.

Bhavavarman, as we have seen, was of the lunar dynasty but he seems to be connected somehow (probably by a matrimonial alliance) with the Princess Kambuja-Râjalakṣmi, who, according to the inscription of Ta Prohm, was born in the maternal family of King Çreṣṭhavarman, the son of Çrutavarman—the first king of the solar dynasty of Kambuja. Several inscriptions, engraved during the reign of Bhavavarman, have come down to us but they bear

no dates. On paleographical grounds they belong to the 6th century, as they are remarkably similar to the inscription of Mangaliça at Badâmi [1] (578 A.D) and the oldest inscriptions of the temple of Pâpanâtha at Pattadakal [2] (both Badâmi and Pattadakal are in the present Bijâpur region of Western Deccan) which also belong to the 6th century. As also Içânavarman, the nephew of Bhavavarman, is known to have been reigning in 616 A.D., and as he is the third prince of the dynasty founded by Bhavavarman, we may safely suppose that the latter reigned in the latter half of the 6th century.

There is a very close similarity between the inscriptions of Bhavavarman and the oldest Javanese inscriptions of Purnavarman (of Western Java) and the Kutei inscriptions of King Mulavarman of Borneo. All these have no dates but Bhavavarman's inscriptions seem to be later than those of W. Java and Borneo.[3] A few common characteristics may be noted here. Frequently the "b" and "v" are not distinguished from one another. In the later inscriptions "b" disappears altogether. After "r" a consonant is often repeated, but when etymologically there should be a repetition of

[1] Barth's article "Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge," J. A. (1882).

[2] Kern, quoted by Barth, p. 12, I.S.C.C.

[3] Vogel, Inscr. of Mulavarman (Bijdragen tot de taal land ..van Nederlandsch Indie, 1918).

the consonant we generally find a single consonant (*e.g.*, patra, chatra, etc.). The guttural "ṅ" is frequently substituted for the anusvara, especially before s and ç. Ṭh and ḍ are not distinguished from th and d. The jihvâmuliya and the upadhmâniya are used only in the earliest inscriptions. With these exceptions orthographical mistakes are rare.[1]

The language of the Kambuja inscriptions is generally quite correct classical Sanskrit. There are also Khmer inscriptions which are of less importance as generally they only give details for the information of the common people.

As regards technique the Kambuja inscriptions excel in symmetry, artistic taste and clearness the inscriptions of India. They have made a regular fine art of it especially under Yaçovarman of the 9th century. The inscriptions of Champa and Java also cannot compare with them in this respect.

To return to Bhavavarman, the inscription of Phnom Bantea Neang (in Battembang which was till quite recently an eastern province of Siam), found on a stone pedestal of a Çivalinga, which has now disappeared, may have been engraved by the order of the king himself. It is one of the shortest of the inscriptions and breathes a martial spirit[2]:—"With the

[1] I.S.C.C., pp. 3-5.
[2] I.S.C.C., p. 28.

offering of treasures, won by the might of the bow, this linga of Tryambaka has been consecrated by the king Çri-Bhavavarman who holds the two worlds in his hands." This is the westernmost point where an inscription of this king is found, and, taken together with other inscriptions found far to the south and to the north, it indicates a wide extent of territory governed by him. Contemporary Chinese chronicles also tell us of the subjugation of neighbouring kingdoms by Kambuja.

Daily Recitation of Sanscrit Epics.

The inscription of Veal Kantel[1] (found in Tonle Ropon—another province possessed by Siam up to our own times) is another contemporary record. Only the last three lines now are intelligible and as it is important from a historical and literary point of view we shall translate here the seven couplets which have survived :—"There was the daughter of Çri-Viravarman, the sister of Çri-Bhavavarman, who, devoted to her husband and to the religion, was like a second Arundhati (the wife of Vaçiṣṭha). He, who took for his wife this (lady)—the mother of Hiranyavarman, the moon among Brahmans, an Âkriti svâmi (*i e.*, master of some Çaiva ritualistic system),... the foremost of those who

[1] I.S.C.C., p. 30.

are versed in the Sâmaveda—he, Çri-Somaçarman, consecrated (this) Tribhuvaneçvara (Lord of the three worlds—Çiva), together with (an image of) the sun, with acts of worship and offerings on a grand scale. With the Râmâyana and the Purâna he gave the complete (Mahâ) Bhârata and arranged for a daily recitation without interruption. As long as the glory of Tribhuvaneçvara survives, whoever[1] (participates in this reading)—may a portion (of the fruit) of this great and virtuous deed go to (the credit of) every doer of such a pious act. But the mischievous wretch who takes away from here even a single book...."[2]

Here a Kṣatriya princess, the sister of King Bhavavarman, is found married to a Brahman and the offspring is a Kṣatriya. In India such intermarriages, though theoretically possible, were very rare in practice.[3] Then the mention of the daily recitation of the Râmâyana and

[1] This portion is illegible.

[2] The rest is missing.

[3] Some "anuloma" marriages are however mentioned in the Indian epigraphy, *e.g.*, in the Mandsaur inscription (Corp. Ins. Ind., III p. 152) a Brahman marries a Vaishya and one of his sons is a viceroy in the Narbada province of King Yaçodharman. In the Arch. Sur. Re. Western India (Vol. IV, p. 140) we find that the ancestor of Hastibhoja, a minister, was a Brahman who married a Kshatriya wife. But the offspring of these marriages belonged to the caste of their fathers, whereas in Indo-China they seem to belong to the caste of their mothers. Among the Nairs however the offspring of Nambudri Brahmans and Nair women are considered as Nairs and not Brahmans.

the Mahâbhârata (the Purâna unfortunately is not named) in an Indo-Chinese inscription of the 6th century is very interesting. Lastly it may be noted that no ruler of the name of Viravarman, Bhavavarman's father, has yet been found in any chronology, so probably Viravarman never reigned.

The badly damaged inscription of Ponhear Hor[1] (in Treang—the southernmost part of Cambodia) was composed by a local magnate who had served two princes, the names of both of whom have been effaced, but one of whom certainly was Bhavavarman as this king's name is mentioned towards the end. As many different divinities of the Hindu pantheon are mentioned in it, it is quoted here as far as possible (a large part of the inscription being illegible) :—"The servant of these two (kings), and, by their grace, the sea into which (the rivers) of their favours entered—by the grace of the former (he received) a gold-tipped umbrella . ...this dense forest infested by tigers.....The lord of Pasenga (*i.e.*, this courtier) consecrated a Çiva-linga . ... By the favour of the second (king) (he received) a golden jar and vase. . ...He consecrated an image of Durgâ and of Çambhu-Vishnu. . ...a linga having the lustre of gold.....Ten years having passed (he consecrated) an image of

[1] I.S.C.C., p. 24.

Trailokyasâra (the Essence of the three worlds—Vishnu).... Thus were given by this person, through the favour of his masters, he who possessed knowledge and the peace which knowledge brings.....May he (who robs) what has been given be thrown into hell up to the day of destruction of all things animate and inanimate (pralaya).....(On the) 13th the spouse (Lakṣmi ?) of Vimalasaha (Vishnu ?)..... was established here an image of Vishnu..... (was consecrated) to the Lord (Çiva) of Dhanvipura by the king Çri Bhavavarman." The last line mentions again Vishnu Çri-Trailokyasâra.

Now we come to one of the most archaic (on paleographical grounds as showing the closest resemblance to Indian prototypes) and at the same time one of the most interesting inscriptions—that of Han Chey discovered near a vast group of ruins called Phnom Bachey.[1] It does not show the perfect symmetry and elegant finish which generally characterises Kambuja epigraphy. The composer is the lord of Ugrapura in the service of Bhavavarman and the occasion is the consecration of a Çivalinga with the name of Bhadreçvara. The style is strongly reminiscent of that of Kâlidâsa. It shows literary skill well above the average

[1] I.S.C.C., pp. 13-14.

found in the inscriptions. It begins with an invocation to Çiva :—

Bhavavarman's Campaigns.

"Victory to the moon-crested (god), who on his head receives the Ganges, the waves of which, (their impetuosity) checked by the frowns of Umâ, form a garland (of Çiva)."

"The king Çri-Bhavavarman was the lord of the rulers of the earth, invincible and magnanimous, sublime like another Meru. Born in the race of Soma (the moon), (effulgent) like the moonlight (reflected) in the sea, his spirit always shone like that on the battlefield. When the six enemies (the six senses), which are within (us), unappeasable, without physical form and therefore beyond human powers (of control), have been conquered by him—nothing need be said of external enemies..... When in autumn he set out on his campaigns in all his glory, his might, surpassing that of the sun, could not be resisted by his enemies. The dust (raised) by his army, settling down on the cheeks of the women of the enemy, from which all decorations had vanished (on account of mourning), looked like sandal powder.[1]..... It would have been superfluous indeed to set fire to the walls of the city besieged by (him

[1] *Cf.*, Raghuvaṃça, stanza 54, Canto IV.

with) his flaming energy.....Having conquered the kings of the mountain, his glory spread over all the directions of the earth with (the aid of) bards (singing his praises) and the army of his virtues (or he made the world full of arts by means of bards equal in number to his virtues). In his person the royal race of Aiḍa (Aila or Pururavas) surpassed itself, as with his exploits it went beyond the limits of this earth. Having first conquered the ocean-girdled earth by force, in his administration he conquered it a second time by his mild forbearance.....The rays of the jewels of the crowns of kings (prostrate before him) give lustre indeed to his feet but cannot give rise to any pride in his stainless heart....."

After this comes a brief reference to a son of Bhavavarman who probably had a very brief reign, as Chinese chronicles, an inscription of Champa,[1] and the inscription of Ang Chumnik of Kambuja ignore him altogether and mention Mahendravarman (the Citrasena of the Chinese) as the next king. Then follows an account of the ascetic virtues of the lord of Ugrapura who consecrated the Bhadreçvara: "Giving servants, cattle, land, gold, etc., without exception as the property of the god. The ascetic servants of the gods may alone have authority

[1] Inscr. of Mi-son, Finot, Notes d'epigraphie, p. 132 (B.E.F.E.O., T.V., p. 920).

here. But the relations and the descendants of the donor may not enjoy the property for they have no right to it....." (stanzas 33-34).

In a second part of the inscription the campaign of Bhavavarman against the mountain chiefs is again referred to, and a bridge, constructed by him during this campaign at the height of the rainy season over a stream deep enough to drown an elephant, is mentioned. He is represented here as having beaten the enemy up to their mountain peaks (stanza 5, p. 16).

The reader of the first eighteen stanzas of this inscription cannot fail to be struck by the close imitation of Kâlidâsa's description of the conquests of Raghu (Canto IV of Raghuvaṃça). Theories of a late date for Kâlidâsa must be rejected if this Indo-Chinese inscription of the 6th century may fairly be regarded as an imitation of his Raghuvaṃça.

The Champa inscription of Prakâçadharma, dated 579 ç. e. (658 A.D.), and the Kambuja inscription of Ang Chumnik (589 ç. e.=668 A.D.) mention Bhavavarman together with his immediate successors, Mahendravarman and Içânavarman. They both emphasize his military renown and the Ang Chumnik inscription refers to him as " having seized the kingdom with his own prowess " (stanza 5, p. 67, I.S.C.C.). This serves to confirm our assumption that he was

not the legal heir to Rudravarman and that he ascended the throne by force of arms.

Mahendravarman.

His brother Citrasena adopted the name of Mahendravarman on assuming the royal power. The inscription of Phou Lokhon,[1] found in Laos (further north than any other inscription which we have discussed up to this time), gives us this information :—" (He) who (is)[2] the son of Çri-Viravarman, and (who is) not inferior in power though the youngest brother of Çri-Bhavavarman, he, named Çri-Citrasena, who possesses all the marks of the great, has chosen the name of Çri-Mahendravarman at his coronation. Having conquered all the country, he has on this mountain established the linga of Giriça (Çiva) to commemorate his victory." The Çiva-linga still exists on the peak.

This inscription (which bears no date) is important as it enables us to identify the Citrasena (Che-to-sseu-na) of the Chinese chronicles, the conqueror of Funan, with Mahendravarman, brother and successor of Bhavavarman.

The short inscription (which also is undated) of Thma Kre,[3] found engraved on a great rock in the bed of the river Mekong between

[1] B. E. F. E. O., t. iii, p. 445.

[2] The first part of the inscription is partially effaced.

[3] B. E. F. E.O., t. iii, p. 212.

Sambak and Kratie, is probably earlier, as only the name Citrasena is mentioned here :—"Established by Citraṣena, with faith in the lord Çambhu and with the approbation of his mother and father, may the Çiva-linga be victorious." This must have been done at an early stage in the prince's career before, to quote the History of the Souei, "Citrasena (Che-to-sseu-na), king of Chen-la, conquered Funan, which was previously the suzeragn of Chen-la." The Chinese must have heard of him through the embassy sent by his son Içânavarman in 616 A.D.

The Champa inscription of 579 ç. e. (658 A.D.) thus refers to Mahendravarman :—"The king Bhavavarman, boasting of three (different kinds of) power, who curtailed the warlike pride of a host of rivals flushed with martial ardour, had a brother, a hero on this earth, the destroyer of the proud enemy's ranks, whose spirit extended (the area under) his rule, and whose great power rose like the sun—this was the illustrious Mahendravarman, equal in might to the king of the gods (Indra). He begat a dear son, the source of felicity, just as in the heart of the wise (rises) right conduct—this was Çri-Içânavarman whose splendour extended to the limits of every direction."

Mahendravarman is also mentioned in the inscription of Ang Chumnik (589 ç. e. = 668 A.D.) along with the other kings of this dynasty and

there he is stated to have despatched a Brahman Simhadeva as ambassador to the king of Champa as a token of friendship between the two princes.[1]

The Earliest Dated Inscription.

The inscription of Bayang, which bears two dates, 526 and 546 ç. e. (604 and 624 A.D.), may have been begun in his reign and finished in the reign of his successor. This inscription, which is the earliest dated one we possess, is distinctly Vedantic in tone though it commemorates the donation of a Çivapada. Çiva is here identified with the Paramâtman of the Upanishads. As to what is meant by a Çiva-pada (the foot of Çiva) we do not precisely know, as several parts of the inscription have suffered damage, but probably it was something corresponding to the Vishnupada of Gya. This symbol of Çiva's footprint is, as far as we know, unknown in India. The artistic skill with which this inscription has been engraved shows a high standard of perfection compared with the earlier undated inscriptions. It begins like this :—

"He[2] whom, by the constant practice of correct meditation and a peaceful frame of

[1] I. S. C. C., p. 67, stanza 8.
[2] I. S. C. C., pp. 34-36.

mind, the wise feel as being enthroned (in their hearts).....the inner light, whom they worship, desirous of attaining the Parama-brahma (the Absolute). The practices of asceticism, of study (of scriptures) and of sacrifice, if devoted to him, procure results beyond description, not only for those who are attached to the fruit of these (pieties), but also for those who have renounced the fruit of action and who are detached (from worldly desires). He whose feet, requiring no support, endowed with supernatural qualities, which is (as it were) the shape assumed by diverse (divine) powers, surpasses all thought and speech and is only known to the wise. The foot of that Lord, on account of his grace, has found an abode here, an abode of prosperity, the holy toes illuminated with rays (seeming) like a lotus on this stone .....There was the son of a Brâhman, the best of the twice-born, Dhruva, (who was) the grandson of Dhruva-punya-kîrtti, who..... (by his merits) bears evidence of his (illustrious) parentage. By him of the name of Vidyâdivindvanta, devoted to pious works (has been consecrated) this Çambhu-pada.....By him also in the valley of the mountain hallowed by a sacred stream was (excavated a tank) for the ablutions of the Lord.....In the ç. year (526) represented by the *rasas* (6), the Heavenly Twins (2) and the (five) arrows of (Kâma) this

foot of the Lord has been surrounded by a brick wall and in (the year 546 designated by) the seasons (6), the seas (4) and the senses (5) the sacred place (tank) was filled with water by him....."

The name or title Vidyâdivindvanta is also unique. It may be translated as "who has Vidyâ (knowledge—the Vedas) in the beginning and Vindu (the Om—or the knowable) in the end." Barth explains it as "per transitoria ad aeterna." It is a Vedantic name quite in harmony with the Vedantic invocation.[1] The mixture of Vedantism with Çaiva doctrines is not very strange when we remember that Çankarâchârya, the great Vedantist scholar, was also a devout Çaiva. Kâlidâsa, whose invocations are generally addressed to Çiva, has also begun some of his works (*e.g.*, Vikramorvaçî) with stanzas addressed to the Supreme and the Absolute. Such philosophical invocations are however rare in Kambuja inscriptions and from this point of view this inscription has an interest of its own. Barth also thinks that it is the first inscription, in Indian epigraphy, to express dates by symbolic words. Prof. Bühler in his Indian Paleography (p. 86) states that in India such word-numerals are used in inscriptions only from the 8th (rather from the 9th) century.

[1] The name however may be simply Vidyabindu.

Içânavarman.

After Mahendravarman, his son Içânavarman continued the warlike traditions of his family. According to Chinese sources, to put an end to all possible rivalry, he drove his brothers into exile in a secluded place and allowed them bare subsistence. He sent an embassy to China in 616 A.D. According to Hiuen-tsang he resided at Içânapura.[1] The Chinese chronicles state that his kingdom included thirty towns and that he had a magnificent court. The Souei Chou (history of the Souei dynasty) thus describes the court of Yi-cho-na Sien (Içânasena) :—"The king sits on a couch adorned with seven kinds of precious stones and perfumed with five sorts of scents. Above that is a canopy supported by columns of precious wood inlaid with ivory and flowers of gold. On each side of the throne a man carries a censer in which incense is burned. The king dresses in purple-coloured silk with embroidered work. He wears a crown, decorated with pearls and precious stones, and he has ear-rings of gold like a woman. His shoes are ornamented with ivory work."

[1] Hiuen-tsang, arriving at the mouth of the Ganges, and just before going back the way he came, collected some information about the kingdoms beyond,—near high mountains and distant seas. These kingdoms he mentions in the following order: Çrî-kṣetra (Arakan), Kamalanka or Ramanalanka (Ramanya : Pegu), Dvârâvati (S. Siam), Içânapura (Kambuja) and Mahâchampâ.

Kambuja and Champa.

He maintained the alliance with Champa. The Champa inscription of 579 ç. e. (658 A.D.) speaks of a certain Jagaddharma who went from Champa to the city of Bhavapura in Kambuja "where Kaundinya, the bull among Brahmans, had planted the javelin which he had received from Açvatthâman, the son of Droṇa." Then follows the story of the Nâgi and a reference to their descendants, among whom Bhavavarman and his brother Mahendravarman are mentioned. Then Içânavarman is mentioned, as the father of the princess Çrî-Çarvânî, "born in the race of Soma destined for an unrivalled prosperity," who is married to Jagaddharma of Champa, and is the mother of Çrî-Prakâçadharma, king of Champa.

Içânavarman is supposed to have made extensive conquests and, after the embassy of 616 A.D., to have cut off all diplomatic connection with China which was not restored for a long time.

Hari-hara Cult.

The inscription of Vat Chakret,[1] dated 541 ç. e. (626 A.D.), refers to him as the reigning king. There is a touch of Vedantic philosophy in the invocation:—"May the moon-crested

[1] I.S.C.C., p. 40.

god be victorious. He, who manifests himself through the great development of the (three) qualities, Çiva, at the same time the origin (of all), himself being without origin and without end.[1] The deva Çrî Içânavarman was the master of the earth, the equal of Indra in might. By the grace of this king of kings.....the lord of Tâmrapura, who has for a long time made the three cities Cakrânkapura, Amoghapura and Bhîmapura the ornament of his feet...; ..by him has been consecrated...the two gods, adored by sages, Hari and Çaṅkara.....Slaves, cows, buffaloes, land, precious objects...(have been bestowed)...In the Çaka year (548) designated by the Vasus (8), the oceans (4) and the arrows (of Kâma—5)...having received the royal favour, for having thrown into shade the hostile arrogance of the vile lord of Tâmrapura, the (new lord) has consecrated here...Çiva united in body with Viṣṇu." Apparently the donor had newly acquired Tâmrapura from a hostile chief. The cult of Hari-hara seems to have been popular in Kambuja, as there are many images of the combined deities still existing.

The inscription of Svai Chuo[2] (near Phnom Penh) also refers to Içânavarman. It is not

[1] Compare this Vedantic invocation with the invocation to Çiva in the inscription at the Seven Pagodas (Burnell—South Indian Palaeography, p. 38). Burnell there says :—" The first four lines describe Çiva in such a way that was only possible after Çaṅkara's development of the Vedānta."

[2] I.S.C.C., p. 40.

dated :—"Victory to the God crowned with the half moon, who is the ornament of the haughty diadem of Âkhaṇḍala (Indra), who is escorted by Dhâtrî, Nârâyaṇa and millions of Rudras. Victorious also is the glorious sovereign of three kings, the mighty possessor of three cities of extensive fame...Çrî Içânavarman the master of the earth...." The rest of the inscription refers to the founding of an âçrama by the "venerable" Vidyâdeva for those who wish to retire temporarily or permanently.

The inscription of Ang Pou,[1] also undated, commemorates the consecration of a Hari-hara and a Viṣṇu-Caṇḍeçvareçâna[2] liṅga by a Muni Içânadatta during the reign of Içânavarman. The invocation is peculiar :—"Victorious are Hara and Acyuta, who have become one for the good of the world, though as the spouses of Pârvatî and Çrî they are two distinct powers. Victorious also is Içânavarman, famed especially for his heroism, who supports the earth like Çeṣa-Nâga.....The Muni Içânadatta, celebrated for his austerities, his life devoted to poverty and study, and the offspring of an illustrious family, has consecrated this image, in which the bodies of Çiva and Acyuta are joined together half and half, for the welfare of his parents. He has also consecrated a liṅga of

[1] *Ibid*, p. 49.

[2] Caṇḍeçvara is also an ancient Çaiva saint of the Tamils.

Viṣṇu and of Içàna Caṇḍeçvara—his decision being that their (of the two deities) worship should be combined by participation in the same offering."

Bhavavarman II.

This reference to a liṅga, in which Viṣṇu and Çiva are combined, is something very strange. Though, in the inscription of Ang Chumnik (589 ç. e.=666 A. D.), after Içânavarman Jayavarman is mentioned as the king of Kambuja, under whom served as physician Siṃhadatta, the son of Siṃhavîra, the minister of Içânavarman—an inscription deciphered by M. Coedes brings to light a Bhavavarman II who was reigning in Kambuja in 561 ç. e. (639 A. D.). Probably as the inscription of Ang Chumnik is directly concerned only with the genealogy of a Brahman family, several members of which were ministers, and only indirectly mentions a series of kings of Kambuja under whom these ministers served, it may not have mentioned this second Bhavavarman under whom no one of that family may have served. Also as the latest date for Içânavarman in the inscriptions (Vat Chakret) is 627 A. D., and the earliest date of Jayavarman is 665 A. D. (inscr. of Vat Prey Vier), there is ample room for a Bhavavarman II between them.

This inscription,[1] which was found deposited in a store-house of the Public Works Office at Phnom Penh, is also noteworthy on account of its use of incorrect and barbarous Sanscrit. On this point it resembles certain inscriptions of Champa during its period of decadence. In Kambuja we do not find anything like this, especially at such an early period. "There is a king, fist (muṣṭi) of the caste of rulers of the earth who were the descendants of Manu, Çrî Bhavavarman, who, as he has acquired self-control by austerities....In the Çaka year (561) designated by the face (1), the seasons (6), and the arrows (5).....(here follows a conjunction of the stars at that time) has been consecrated an (image) of Devî Caturbhujâ (the four-armed goddess). Through devotion to Lord Çambhu and for the deliverance of his parents, with rites befitting (?) the Devî, (the king) has established (this image) on this earth." This is all that we know of Bhavavarman II.

First Mention of Buddhism in an Inscription.

After this little-known king comes Jayavarman I (of Chen-la)[2] who is referred to in several inscriptions. The first dated inscription

[1] B.E.F.E.O., IV, 691.

[2] Aymonier, who thinks that Chen-la was simply a later name for Funan, mentions this king as Jayavarman II.

of this prince, that of Vat Prey Vier, is also the first Sanscrit inscription[1] which contains a mention of Buddhism. It refers to two Bhikṣus and does not begin with an invocation to a Hindu deity.

"Victorious is the king Çrî Jayavarman... to whom the fickle goddess of fortune, Lakṣmî, is firmly attached...skilful in the task of protecting the world, he is proclaimed by sages to be the thousand-eyed god (Indra) in person. While he protected the world,[2] conquered with large strides (by his predecessors?), there lived in his kingdom two excellent bhikṣus, sons of the same mother. Both were receptacles of virtue, knowledge, mildness, patience, compassion, self-control and prudence, and were named Ratna Bhānu and Ratna Siṃha. The son of the daughter of the sister of these brothers of stainless reputation was the auspicious Çubhakīrtti devoted to pious actions. To him is bequeathed, according to the uninterrupted mode of succession in the family and also by the command of the king, all that his elders (had acquired) by their merits." Then follows the date in symbolic words 586 ç.e. (664 A.D.).

In this connection may be mentioned a Khmer inscription described by Aymonier at

[1] I.S.C.C., pp. 61-62.

[2] Probably this means that Mahendravarman was a peaceful monarch who preserved what his warlike predecessors had won.

Vat Prasat.[1] This is not dated but on epigraphical grounds Aymonier would ascribe it to the 6th or (early) 7th century. It records the gift of slaves by a person named Pon Prajnâ Candra to three Bodhisattvas, Sâsta, Maitreya and Avalokiteçvara, who are given the same title, Vrah Kamratân an (lords, gods), as are given to Hindu divinities.

Jayavarman I.

In the final stanza of an inscription at Ang Chumnik[2] (not the one we have already cited more than once), Jayavarman is mentioned as "the full moon of the spotless heaven of the lunar race" and is represented as presenting to Girîça (Çiva) "a treasure gleaming like fire." Then one of his officials, the chief of Âdhyapura inaugurates a fair, which the inhabitants of the town are invited to celebrate, in honour of Çiva on the third day of the month of Mâdhava.

Now we come to the inscription of Ang Chumnik to which we have already referred several times (I.S.C.C., pp. 66-68). It gives us, as we have seen, the genealogy of a family several members of which held the post of minister or court physician during the reigns of Rudravarman and his successors up to Jayavarman.

[1] Aymonier, Le Cambodge, T. I., p. 442.

[2] I.S.C.C., p. 57.

"Invincible like Trivikrama (Viṣṇu) was the King Çrî Rudravarman, whose happy reign is remembered up to this day as that of Dilîpa.[1] In his service, as physician-in-chief, were two brothers, like the Açvins (Heavenly Twins), Brahmadatta the elder and Brahmasiṃha the younger. These two had two nephews (their sister's sons) of highly auspicious fortune, Dharmadeva the elder and Siṃhadeva the younger. King Bhavavarman having seized the kingdom with his own prowess, he for whom Çrî Gambîreçvara was the fruit of his kingdom, which was like the tree fulfilling all desires (*i.e.*, this image of Çiva was to this king the most cherished object in his kingdom); these two (Dharmadeva and Siṃhadeva) were his ministers, both good advisers, experienced, well versed in the codes of law and political science (arthaçāstra),[2] (as it were) spiritual and practical knowledge personified. Afterwards of Mahendravarman, the prosperous ruler of the earth, these two were also the ministers—the instruments (of the royal will) in every thing. The younger, Siṃhadeva, an expert, was employed as ambassador by the king and was sent to the King of Champa for (strengthening)

[1] One of the heroes of the solar race who is also celebrated by Kâlidâsa in his Raghuvaṃça, Canto I.

[2] This allusion to Artha-Çâstra in an early Kambuja inscription is interesting.

the friendship (between the two princes). There was a son of Dharmadeva, a lion of his race, named Siṃhavīra. Learned, who to this day drinks with the learned the juice of poetry, he was the chief minister of King Çrî Içânavarman."[1] After this is mentioned the consecration of two images of Hara Çrî Nikâmeçvara and Hari by Siṃhavīra. Then follows an eulogy of this son, in whom, "though living in this (impure) Yuga, attached steadfastly to good works, Dharma of the Kali Yuga does not stumble, though it has now only one foot left."[2] "The physician of the lion of kings, of the victorious Jayavarman, he was without pride though he knew all that could be known." Afterwards the king transferred this physician to the service of the brother of his queen mother and, recognising his worth, made him the governor of Âdhyapura (the ancient name of Ang Chumnik). It was this Siṃhadatta who consecrated Çrî Vijayeçvara in 589 ç.e. (667 A.D.), at an auspicious moment which is described with a great wealth of astronomical detail, and this consecration was the occasion for composing this inscription.

It is probably to this reign that the badly damaged but valuable inscription of Prâsat Prâ

[1] I.S.C.C., pp. 66-68.

[2] Dharma is represented as a bull which had four feet in the Satya Yuga but which in each succeeding Yuga lost a foot.

should be ascribed. Its date is about 577 ç. e. (655 A.D.). It refers to the donation of a Vyâsa-satra (book of Vyâsa).[1] As in the preceding line Sambhava-pustakam is mentioned, this work of Vyâsa can only be the Mahâbhârata—Sambhava parva being one of the earlier cantos of the epic. The final imprecation, uttered against any future destroyer of the book, is remarkable:—"Let him be in hell as long as there are the sun and the moon." Of course imprecations like this are well known in Kambuja and Java. But the particular words used here "Yâvat suryaçca candraçca" distinguish this inscription, according to Prof. Coedes, from Indian inscriptions. The expression "candrâditya" exists in the epigraphy of Southern India, but there it is exclusively applied to donations or exemptions from tax—not to curses. The Pallavas and Cholas use this expression often (but not in connection with imprecations). But such cases are to be seen frequently in the inscriptions of Champa and Java. If it is correct to assume that the employment of such phrases imply a dynastic connection—their simultaneous presence in the three Indian kingdoms of the Far East is very significant.

[1] M. Coedes, Etudes Cambodgiennes, B.E.F.E.O., T. XI, 1911.

CHAPTER IV

Anarchy and Foreign Domination

After Jayavarman I there is a blank in the history of Kambuja for about a century. Only with the accession of Jayavarman II (724 ç. e. = 802 A.D.) we are able to resume the thread of our narrative. Chinese annals state that between 713 and 741 A.D., during the reign of Emperor Hiuen-tsang, Chen-la (Kambuja) was split up into two states: Chen-la of the water and Chen-la of the land. The northern portion, with its hills and valleys, was called Chen-la of the land, and the southern, bordering on the sea and abounding in lakes, was known as Chen-la of the water. The latter was 800 li in extent. The king lived in the city of Pho-lo-ti-pa. Chen-la of the land was also called Wen-tan or Pho-leou and was 700 li (in width). During the period 713-755, the king being dead, there came one of his relations to the imperial court. The ambassador was honoured with the title of the "truly patient protector." In the year 779 A.D., in the reign of the Emperor Son-soung, the viceroy of Chen-la of the land, of the name of Pho-mi, came to the Chinese court with his wife

and presented eleven tame elephants. Pho-mi was given the grade of "inspector of the palace" and the surname of the "guest of the Empire."[1]

Chinese Accounts of Kâmbuja.

Some of the earlier Chinese references to the reign of Içânavarman supply us with interesting information regarding the conditions of life in Kambuja during the first half of the 7th century. The capital was Içânapura which contained 20,000 houses. In the centre was a grand hall where the king held his court. There were three cities in which there were several thousands of houses. Each town had a governor whose title was the same as in Lin-yi (Champa). There were five classes of high officials, when they appear before the king they thrice touch the ground in front of the steps of the throne. The king orders them to mount up the steps, and then they kneel with their hands crossed over their shoulders. Then they sit in a circle round the king for discussing state affairs. When the meeting of the council is over, they kneel down again and take leave. At the gate of the throne-room there are a thousand guards in armour armed with lances.

[1] Abel Remusat, Nouveaux Melanges Asiatiques (1829), pp. 85-86. Abel Remusat here gives a translation of Ma-touan-lin's chapter on Chen-la. It has been retranslated by the Marquis d'Hervey de Saint Denys in his Ethnographie des peuples etrangeres a la Chine.

The men are of a small stature and of a dark complexion; but there are women who are fair. The people tie their hair in a knot and wear ear-rings. They are robust and of an active temperament. Their houses and furniture resemble much those of Siam. The right hand among them is regarded as clean and the left hand as unclean. They bathe every morning and they use twigs of trees for cleaning their teeth. After having read their (sacred) books, and recited their prayers, they bathe again. Then they take their food. After the meal they again clean their teeth and recite their prayers once more. In their food they use a good deal of butter, cream, powdered sugar, rice and millet of which they make cakes or bread.

When they marry, they send only a robe as wedding present to the bride. When the date is fixed, the go-between goes before the bride. The families of the bride and bridegroom do not go out (of their houses) for a week. Day and night the lamps are lighted. When the wedding ceremony is over, the husband takes his share of the family property and goes to live in a house of his own. On the death of his relations he again takes what is left (of the family property). Otherwise the property goes to the public treasury.

The funeral ceremonies are as follows :—The children of both sexes pass seven days in

lamentations, without food and without cutting their hair. The relations assemble with Buddhist priests and the priests of Tao (Brahmans), and walk in a procession with chants to the accompaniment of musical instruments. The corpse is burnt on a pyre of aromatic wood and the ashes are kept in an urn of silver or gold. Then the urn is thrown into the middle of a great river. Poor people use urns of baked clay painted in various colours. Sometimes the corpse is exposed on a hill-side to be devoured by beasts.

In the south there are large marshes and pestilential exhalations. Rice, rye and a little millet are produced.....At the 6th moon there blows a pestilential breeze. For warding off its evil effects, sacrifices of swine, white sheep and oxen(?) are offered at the western gate of the city. Otherwise the grain would not ripen and the cattle will perish. In approaching the capital one comes to a hill named Ling-kia-po-pho. On the top is a temple which is always guarded by 5,000 soldiers. To the east of the city is another temple of the Spirit named Pho-to-li to whom human sacrifices are offered. Every year the king goes himself to offer the human sacrifice at night. This temple is also guarded by a thousand soldiers. There are people who adore the spirits. There are many who follow the law of the Buddha and

there are many others who follow the law of Tao (*i.e.*, the Brahmanic religion). In the houses where travellers stop, the Buddhists and the Taoists have their sacred images.

After 617 A.D. commercial intercourse was interrupted.[1]

According to the chronicles of the Tang dynasty, Chen-la had also another name Ki-mei (Khmer?). It was formerly a vassal state of Funan.

In this country all the houses face towards the East. While sitting people turn towards the same direction. It is the custom to offer to a guest betelnut, camphor and other perfumes, for here one does not drink in 'public.' But inside one's own house, in the absence of elders of the family, husband and wife (do drink) together. They have five thousand elephants trained for war. The best are given meat to eat.

Çambhupura and Vyádhapura.

The evidence of the Chinese chronicles about the splitting up of Chen-la is corroborated by inscriptions of Yaçovarman which are engraved both in North Indian and the Kambuja script

[1] These paragraphs are taken from Remusat, Nouveaux Melanges Asiatiques, pp. 78-83. See also Ma-touanlin's Meridionaux, translated by M.D. Hervey de Saint Denis, p. 480 *et seq.*

at the end of the 9th century A.D. These digraphic inscriptions give us, in connection with the genealogy of Yaçovarman, the genealogies of two ruling families, who, during the same period, reigned, one at Çambhupura to the north, and the other at Vyâdhapura to the south. Çambhupura (Sambor) would then be the capital of Chen-la of the land, and Vyâdhapura (Angkor-Baurey) the capital of Chen-la of the water. One of the early princes of Çambhupura was a certain Puṣkarâkṣa, who was lord of Aninditapura, before he became ruler of Çambhupura. He seems to have acquired a great celebrity, as he figures in the genealogies of several kings of Kambuja of the 9th century. One of his descendants married the heiress of the Adhirâjas of Vyâdhapura, and the issue of this marriage, Râjendravarman, seems to have re-established Khmer unity by inheriting Çambhupura from his father and Vyâdhapura from his mother. Râjendravarman's son Mahapativarman married Râjendradevi, the great-grand-daughter of the Brahman Agastya, who came from Āryadeça (North India) and married a princess of the royal blood. Indradevi, their daughter, was the mother of Yaçovarman,[1] the founder of Angkor Thom (Nagara Dhâma), who ascended the throne of Kambuja in 889 A.D.

[1] See I.S.C.C., pp. 356-364.

This is all that we know of the princes of Çambhupura and Vyâdhapura, except what we learn from a much damaged inscription at Sambor (the ancient Çambhupura—Coedes, B.E.F.E.O., t. v, 419). The inscription mentions a King Jayavarman "of a family of Brâhmanas and Kṣatriyas" and gives the date of 703 ç.e. (781 A.D.). It was probably in connection with the consecration of a Vaiṣṇava image (the name of the god has vanished). As Jayavarman I reigned in 58 ç.e., and Jayavarman II came from 'Javâ' in 724 ç. e., this must be a new Jayavarman. Probably he was one of the local princes of Çambhupura where this inscription has been discovered. This is the only inscription of the 8th century which gives both a date and the name of a king.

During the 8th century A.D. Eastern and Central Indo-China were ravaged by incursions of Malays and Javanese. The Champa inscription of Da Trang (or Yang Tikuh) states that the armies of Java (it is not spelt Yava), coming on board ships, burnt the temple of Çri Bhadrâdhipatîçvara in 709 ç. e. (787 A.D.).[1] An earlier inscription of Champa[2] refers to the destruction in 696 ç.e. (774 A.D.) of an ancient Çiva-linga in the province of Kauthâra by "men born in other countries extremely black and

[1] I.S.C.C., p. 208.

[2] I.S.C.C, p. 245.

thin, terrible as death, who came on board ships. There had been earlier raids in the Chinese province of Tonkin in 765 and 767 A.D.[1]

Naval Raid by Çrivijaya.

Kambuja also did not escape from these inroads. And it is from a new quarter, the narrative of an Arab traveller of the 9th century, that we get a dramatic account of it. The Arab merchant Sulayman had travelled in India and China, and his accounts, written in 851 A.D., were commented upon by Abu Zaid Hasan about 916 A.D. In his description of the kingdom of Zâbaj (which we can now identify with the Çrivijaya kingdom of Sumatra) occurs a passage as follows[2] :—" According to the annals of Zâbaj there was once upon a time a king of Khmer. Khmer is the country from which the aloe Khmer is exported. It is not an island.....and there is no kingdom which possesses a larger population than Khmer The people walk on foot. All fermented liquors and (every kind of) debauchery are forbidden there ; in the cities and throughout the empire one would not be able to find a single person addicted to debauchery or to fermented drinks

[1] Maspero, Le Royaume du Champa, p 130.

[2] G. Ferrand, L'Empire Sumatranais de Çrivijaya, pp. 59-61,

.....Between Khmer and Zâbaj the distance is from 10 to 20 days (voyage) by sea according to the weather

"It is narrated that there was once a king of Khmer who was young and prompt to act. One day he was seated in his palace, which holds a commanding position on the banks of a river resembling the Tigris (the distance between the palace and the sea being one day's journey), and he had his minister with him. He was having a conversation with his minister, and they were discussing the kingdom of the Maharaja of Zâbaj, its magnificence and the number of islands it included, when the king said that he had a desire which he longed to satisfy. The minister, who was sincerely attached to him and who knew how rash the king was in his decisions, asked him about his desire. The king replied: 'I long to see the head of the king of Zâbaj before me on a plate.' The minister understood that it was jealousy which had suggested the idea and said: 'I do not like to hear my sovereign express such a desire. The peoples of Khmer and Zâbaj have never manifested any hatred towards each other.....The kingdom of Zâbaj is a distant island and is not in our neighbourhood. It had never shown any intention of attacking Khmer. No one should hear this and the king should never mention this (desire) to anybody.' The

king became displeased with his minister, and disregarding the advice of his loyal counsellor, he repeated his statement to the generals and other courtiers who were present there. The news flew from mouth to mouth, till it spread everywhere, and it came to the knowledge of the Maharaja of Zâbaj. He was an energetic sovereign, active, and experienced. He called his minister, told him what he had heard, and added that he must take some steps in this matter after what the foolish king of Khmer had said in public.....Then telling the minister to keep the matter secret, he bade him prepare a thousand ships, and to man them with as many troops as possible. It was given out to the public that the Maharaja intended to make a tour through the islands included in his kingdom..... The king of Khmer did not suspect anything till the Maharaja had reached the river leading to the capital and had disembarked his troops. The capital was taken by surprise and the king of Khmer was captured. The people fled before the enemy. But the Maharaja had it proclaimed by public criers that no one would be molested. Then he seated himself on the throne of Khmer, and ordered the king of Khmer and his minister to be summoned before him. The Maharaja asked the king of Khmer what had made him express such a desire. The king did not reply. Then

the Maharaja said: 'You wished to see my head on a plate. If you had similarly desired to seize my kingdom or to ravage it, I would have done the same to your country. But as you only intended to see my head cut off, I would confine myself to subjecting you to the same treatment, and then I would return to my country without touching anything else in the kingdom of Khmer.....This would be a lesson to your successors, so that no one will be tempted to undertake a task beyond his power.' So he had the king beheaded. Then he addressed the minister: 'I know well the good advice you gave your master. What a pity that he did not heed it! Now seek somebody, who can be a good king after this mad man, and put him on the throne.'

Then the Maharaja returned to his own country, without taking away himself or allowing any one else to take anything from Khmer. When he reached his capital, he sat down on the throne which faces the lake, into which the bricks of gold are thrown, and had the head of the king of Khmer placed before him on a plate. Then he summoned the high functionaries of his state, and told them why he had undertaken the expedition... ...Then he had the head embalmed, and sent it in a vase to the new king of Khmer, with a letter to the effect that the Maharaja had only been forced to act like

that, on account of the feelings of hatred which the late king had expressed towards him, and that this chastisement should serve as a lesson to any one who would imitate the deceased prince. When the news reached the ears of the kings of India and China, the Maharaja of Zâbaj rose in estimation in their eyes."

Now M. Finot thinks, on the evidence of the Champa inscription of Po-sah,[1] that Java and Yavadvica (the Sanskrit name for Java) mean two different countries, as in that inscription, the daughter of the sovereign of Java is mentioned as the principal queen (of the king of Champa), and another princess, daughter of the king of Yava, is referred to as coming from Yavadvipa (the island of Java). Luang Prabang in Laos was known as Muang Java, but we know from the Champa inscriptions that those who came from Java to ravage the coast of Champa came in ships. The Highlanders of Laos would not come down to the Champa coast in ships.[2] The identification of Zâbaj with Çrivijaya in Sumatra (made possible by M. Coedes' researches in 1918), and this story narrated by the Arab traveller Sulayman, point to Sumatra as the place they came from. Moreover a Javanese chronicle states that King Sanjaya of Central

[1] Notes d'Epigraphie, B.E.F.E.O., III, p. 641.

[2] Finot thought (before 1918) that this Java was probably some place in the Malay Peninsula.

Java, in a victorious campaign, overran Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, and Khmer about the third decade of the 8th century A.D.[1]; and we know from inscriptions of C. Java that the Çailendra dynasty of Sumatra ruled in Javâ, and built magnificent Buddhist temples there in the latter half of the 8th and the first half of the 9th century. No wonder, therefore, that Java and Sumatra should be confused by foreigners.

Among the very few inscriptions from the 8th century there is one from Prah That Kvan Pir[2] which is dated 638 ç. e. It states that Puṣkara had the god Puṣkarâkṣa consecrated by Munis and eminent Brahmans. Probably this Puṣkara is the same as the Puṣkarâkṣa who, we have seen, was the prince of Aninditapura and later on the king of Çambhupura. Another Khmer inscription, dated 725 ç. e., engraved on a temple-gutter at Sambaur, commemorates the donation to Çiva by a queen Jyesṭhâryâ, among whose ancestors are mentioned Jayendravarman, the queen Nripendradevi, and the king Çri Indraloka. Probably these were local princes of Çambhupura. The name Çri Indraloka is noteworthy, as it is the first posthumous name we have of a king.[3] The use of these posthumous names for kings becomes quite common from the 9th century A.D.

[1] W. Fruin Mees, Geschiedenis van Java (Hindoetijdperk), pp. 21, 22.

[2] B.E.F.E.O., t. iv, p. 675.

[3] Aymonier, Le Cambodge, Vol. I, p. 305.

Indian Influence in Early Cambodian Art.

Before we come to the reign of Jayavarman II, with whom begins the architectural activity of Khmer, we might briefly discuss the sculpture and architecture prior to the 9th century.

M. Aymonier, who was one of the pioneers in the research on Indo-Chinese antiquities, is of the opinion that in Kambuja, wood, brick, limonite (ferruginous clay), and sand-stone were used one after another, in the order given here, as building materials. The wooden temples and palaces, probably those which the Chinese chronicles have referred to in their earliest notices, have disappeared long ago.

The use of brick goes back, Aymonier thinks, certainly to the fifth century A D.—if not earlier. The oldest towers, which have been discovered, are brick structures. Bricks were used also in the golden period of Khmer architecture, which began with Jayavarman II in the 9th century, but only for buildings of minor importance. The use of sandstone was the characteristic feature of this period.[1]

M. Permentier, the head of the Archaeological Department of French Indo-China, is of the opinion that, before the 9th century, the form of art in Kambuja was wholly different from

[1] Aymonier, Histoire de l'Ancien Cambodge, 1920, p. 50.

that which followed later. The monuments before the 9th century were isolated towers, built with bricks, of simple plan, rectangular, with walls relieved only by false doors.[1] The ornamental details, he thinks, were closely connected with the Pallava art of South India.

M. George Groslier, the conservator of the Musée du Cambodge and the Directeur des Arts Cambodgiens, has got stronger views on this subject. He believes that, for the history of Kambuja art and architecture, the country should be divided into two parts—the hilly and backward region of the north, and the southern and more refined portion bordering on the sea. The first was Chen-la, and the second the head-quarters of Fu-nan. The Chinese mention the handicrafts, temples, etc., of Fu-nan, but they are silent about similar things in Chen-la. Probably there was nothing worth mentioning there. The monuments of the 7th century, which still survive, show a type which disappears from the 9th century. The sculpture of this early period, with its poses, costume, and technique, disappears also about the same time. This sculpture and architecture, Groslier thinks, was purely Indian. And this school of architecture and sculpture is found in the south, and therefore belongs to the last phase of Funan. The isolated towers of brick, richly sculptured,

[1] B.E.F.E.O., 1923, p. 418.

are Indian, and this art, imported into a maritime country, must have come from another maritime country. It came from Dravidian India, and even the details of the architecture of Mahavalipuram are reproduced in these Fu-nan antiquities. Whenever this particular type of art may have been imported, it was never assimilated and it remained a foreign art. Probably Hindu craftsmen directed and helped local workmen. The statues of Buddha, discovered in 1923 in the South (the photos of which M. Groslier showed the writer), preserve the characteristics of the Greco-Buddhist school of Gândhâra. The same arrangement of drapery is to be seen in them. Examples of this particular phase of art are not numerous. There are at the most about sixty of such towers.[1]

This purely Indian art, this Greco-Buddhist sculpture, did not have sufficient time, according to Groslier, to take root in Kambuja soil. With the supremacy of Chen-la this phase disappeared. The conquerors from the north disdained the art of the conquered people. Thus Groslier disagrees both with those who think that this early phase was the primitive phase of Khmer art, because this was not primitive

[1] Groslier's paper, Sur les Origines des l'Art Khmer, Mercure de France, 1st December, 1924, and a conversation which the writer had with him about the same time.

as it was the full-fledged art of India, and with those others who believe in the continuance of the Indian influence in the later more developed period of Khmer art, because he thinks that this Indian influence disappeared in the eighth century. In the 9th century there grows up a vigorous school of Indo-Chinese art practically free from foreign influence—an indigenous product of the soil of Kambuja.

But the majority of experts do not believe that there was such a hard-and-fast division between the art of Fu-nan and the Khmer art. As M. Golubew points out,[1] the art of Khmer, from its origin to its fullest development, never ceased to belong to the great family of Indian or Indianised Schools of Art. It moreover followed a line of evolution similar to that in other countries influenced by Indian art.

[1] B.E.F.E.O., t. XXIV, p. 583.

CHAPTER V.

JAYAVARMAN II AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Jayavarman II, whose ascension in 724 ç.e. (802 A.D.) marks the close of a very obscure period of the history of Kambuja, is one of the greatest sovereigns of Indo-China. For centuries his name held a conspicuous place in the genealogies of later kings, and even now he is the hero of well-known Cambodian legends. He is better known by his posthumous name Parameçvara (the Supreme Lord, *i.e.*, Çiva).

The important inscription of Sdok Kak Thom,[1] partly in Sanscrit and partly in Khmer, which gives us the history of a family, the heads of which held the post of High Priest of Kambuja for several centuries, devotes a considerable number of stanzas (56-82: part C of the inscr.)[1] to the memory of His Majesty Parameçvara:—"This family (of the High Priest) was dwelling in the village of Bhadrayogi in the district (vijaya) of Indrapura. Then His Majesty (man vrah pâda) Parameçvara came from 'Javâ' to reign in the city of Indrapura. The Çivakaivalya, venerable and wise guru, became the royal *purohita* of H. M. Parameçvara.

[1] Finot, Notes d'Epigraphie, B.E.F.E.O., t. XV, pp. 70-71, Khmer portion.

Then H. M. Parameçvara left Indrapura, and Çivakaivalya came with Kandvârahoma for the royal service. His Majesty ordered him to bring his relations, and when they came, His Majesty graciously assigned them land, and founded there the village of Kuti which he presented to them. Then H. M. Parameçvara reigned in the city of Hariharâlaya. Çivakaivalya also settled with his family in this city.... Then H. M. Parameçvara founded the city Amarendrapura, and Çivakaivalya also went to that city to serve His Majesty. He asked for a plot of land from His Majesty near Amarendrapura, and sending for his family from Kuti, settled them there (in the new land) in the village named Bhavâlaya...Then H. M. Parameçvara went to reign at Mahendra-parvata and Çivakaivalya also resided there for serving His Majesty. Then a Brahman Hiranyadâma, versed in the science of magic, came from Janapada (probably somewhere in India), because His Majesty had invited him to draw up a ritual, so that Kambuja-deça might no longer be dependent on 'Javâ,' and that there might be in the kingdom a *cakravarti* (para-mount) sovereign. The Brahman composed a ritual according to the Vinâçika and consecrated the Kamraten jagat ta râja (Deva râja in Sanscrit). The Brahman recited the Vinâçika, the Nayottara, the Sammoha, and the Çiraçcheda

(these are Tantrik texts apparently) from beginning to end, so that they could be written down, and then he taught Çivakaivalya these (books).[1] And he taught Çivakaivalya how to carry on the ritual of the Jagat ta râja. H. M. Parameçvara and the Brahman Hiranyadâma then vowed to employ only the family of Çivakaivalya and no other to celebrate the cult of Jagat ta râja. Çivakaivalya taught this cult to all his relations. Then H. M. Parameçvara returned to Hariharâlaya to reign there and the Jagat ta râja was also brought there. Çivakaivalya and his relatives officiated (as priests) as before. Çivakaivalya died during this reign. H. M. Parameçvara died in the city of Hariharâlaya, the residence of Jagat ta râja, as the god resided in all the capitals, where the kings took him, in the capacity of protector (of the realm), during the reigns of successive sovereigns."

Cult of Deva Râja.

The cult of Jagat ta râja (or râjya) or the Deva-râja (Royal God) seems then to have been the official religion of the kingdom and Jayavarman II was its founder. Something very like it was to be found in Champa and in Central

[1] In another passage of this inscription (Stanza 28-A) it is stated that these four sacred texts constituted the four faces of the "Tumburu."

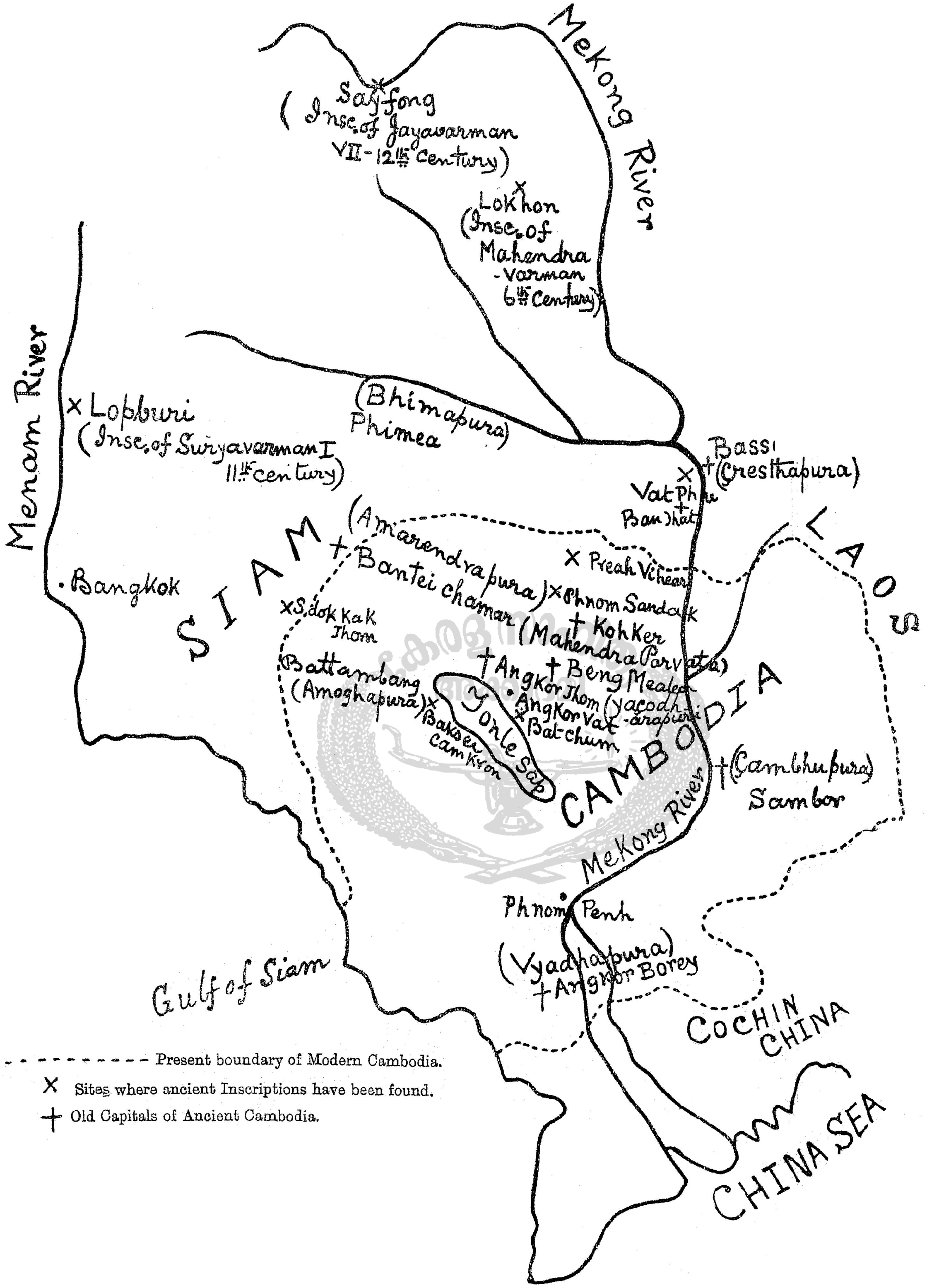
Java. From the inscription of Dong-duong [1] (Champa) it appears that there was a mysterious connection between the god Bhadreçvara (Çiva) and the reigning dynasty. In the Canggala and Dinaya inscriptions of Central Java something like the same relation is hinted at. In Kambuja the Royal God was the eternal prototype of the mortal kings—something like a deification of the royalty. Moreover in Kambuja, Champa, as well as in Java, we find a Brahman sage playing an important part in this close connection between a Çiva-linga and the ruling dynasty. In the case of Kambuja it is Hiranyadâma, in Champa the risi Bhṛgu, and in Central Java the great sage Agastya. Probably there may be a common origin for this.[2] Java may have been the centre from which this cult spread and we know that Java got its Agastya cult from Kunjara-Kunja in South India.[3]

In Kambuja the cult of the Deva-râja or Royal God led to the Royal Chaplain enjoying a pontifical position. And the Kambuja hierarchy was established by Jayavarman II. We have seen how the priesthood of the Royal God became hereditary in the family of Çiva-kaivalya and we shall see the immense power wielded by his descendants later on. The

[1] Finot, B.E.F.E.O., f. IV, p. 83.

[2] Tijdschrift Bat. Gen., Deel, lxiv, 1924, article by Dr. Bosch.

[3] Canggala inscription of Central Java of 654 ç.e.



- - - - - - - - - - Present boundary of Modern Cambodia.

× Sites where ancient Inscriptions have been found.

+ Old Capitals of Ancient Cambodia.

sacerdotal dynasty almost threw the royal dynasty into the shade.

Kambuja and Çrivijaya.

As to how Jayavarman II came from Java, and what were his claims to the throne of Kambuja, we do not know anything. Was Kambuja a tributary of Java (or of the Sumatran kingdom of Çrivijaya which at this time had extended its sway over Central Java) at the close of the 8th century ? Had Jayavarman, a prince of the Kambuja royal family, been carried away as a prisoner to Java in his childhood ? The Khmer portion of the inscription of Sdok Kok Thom does mention that Jayavarman invited Hiranyadâma to draw up a ritual so that Kambuja-deça might no longer be dependent on Java. Probably Jayavarman II was not directly related to the Royal family of Kambuja. The inscription of Phnom Sandok says of Jayavarman [1] :—"For the prosperity of the subjects, in this perfectly pure royal race, the great lotus (stalk) which had no connection with the soil, he (Jayavarman II) rose like a fresh lotus." It might mean that the old royal family had become extinct before Jayavarman's accession. From the digraphic inscriptions of Yaçovarman, it appears [2] that Pushkarâkṣa, the lord

[1] I.S.C.C., p. 343, stanza 8.

[2] I. S. C. C., p. 364, stanza 2.

of Aninditapura, who had obtained the kingdom of Çambhupura, was the maternal uncle of the maternal uncle of the mother of Jayavarman II. Probably Jayavarman himself belonged to Çambhupura, where four relations of his, as we learn from the Khmer inscription of Thol Kok Prasat (Sambor),[1] constructed the gates of the temple of the Lord (Çiva) of Çambhupura. The only instance of a posthumous name of a king before Jayavarman II is found in the case of a prince of Çambhupura of the 8th century. With Jayavarman II posthumous names of the kings of Kambuja became quite the fashion.

The inscription[2] of Muni Çivaçakti (containing the date 815 ç.e.), which gives the genealogy and the works of piety of another matriarchal family, related to the royal dynasty through Kambuja-lakṣmi, the queen of Jayavarman II, refers thus to this sovereign :—
"There was a king Jayavarman, whose command was placed on the head (as it were an ornament) by rulers prostrate before him, who was invested with a radiant splendour by the goddess of victory. Bearing in his four arms the immovable earth (this sentence which has a double meaning can also be rendered : king in the year designated by four, the two arms, and the mountains (7)—*i.e.*, 724 ç. e.) like another Viṣṇu,

[1] Aymonier, Le Cambodge, 1, p. 307.
[2] I. S. C. C., pp. 533 and 534.

the god with four arms, knowing the four Vedas like a Brahmâ (the god with four faces) come down on earth. His queen was Kambuja-lakṣmi (the goddess of the fortunes of Kambuja), who was also known as Prâṇa (life), the younger sister of an ancestor (whose name has been effaced) of the Muni Çivaçakti, who was the author of this inscription.) . ." Then the brother of the queen, Viṣṇu-vala, is mentioned as the keeper of the private purse of the king. A certain Hyancandra (a very strange name for a female) is mentioned as the wife of a noble Nadh (a Khmer name), who, when he became the head of the army, received the title of Çri Nripendra-vijaya. Another Praṇava-çarva had charge of the cooking of the offerings in sacrifices. Çivâtmana looked after the royal bedchamber. A host of other names are mentioned—apparently relations of the queen and ancestors of Çivaçakti—some of these being distinctly indigenous, such as Pon, Pan, Av, An (feminine names), while others are Vaiṣṇavite—like Govinda, Kriṣnapâla, Puruṣottama, etc. Sâmaveda occurs as the name of a person.

The inscription of Phnom Sandok,[1] inscribed during the reign of Yaçovarman in 817 ç. e., by a disciple of the sage Somaçiva at Çivapura, contains in the second part an eulogy of Jayavarman II. "There was a paramount sovereign of

[1] I. S. C. C., p. 343.

kings, Çri Jayavarman, to whose toes the radiant jewels of the diadems of prostrate kings gave an increased lustre. For the welfare of the subjects, in this perfectly pure royal race, the great lotus (stalk) which had no connection with the soil, he rose like a fresh lotus. Maidens, when they saw him, said (to themselves)—"My eyes, you may remain closed—this auspicious person shall not leave my mind for an instant." Nothing could serve as a comparison of his beauty, as there is some drawback or other (in all things which could be compared), the moon *e.g.*, though like his face, is enveloped by Râhu (suffers eclipse and thus cannot be really compared with him). The earth girdled by the oceans is not too heavy for his arms—even as his death-dealing bow-string suffices to humble the rulers of the earth. He, whose seat is on the heads of lions, whose orders are laid on the heads of (vanquished) kings, whose capital is on the head of Mahendra mountain, and yet who feels no pride." The last stanza, which contains a short extract from Pâṇini's grammar, has got a double meaning—in the first sense praising the king's devotion to duty, and in the second extolling his consummate knowledge of the rules of Sanscrit grammar. (1) "During his reign the king, who was devoted to the duties prescribed for good people, was guilty of no negligence in the performance of actions, as if he

were a Muni with all his senses under control."[1] (2) "It was on account of the command over words which the king, devoted to duty, had, that the prepositions were joined to the verb and placed before the root, as if he had been the sage (Pâṇini the grammarian) himself."

The inscription of Prasat Pra Dak (near Angkor) gives us a long genealogy of the kings of Kambuja. It begins with an invocation to the three Buddhist *ratnas* (jewels—Buddha, Dharma, Sangha). Then commences the genealogy with Jayavarman II. Then comes another Jayavarman (III), the son of Jayavarman II, the next is Indravarman, a distant relation of the last, then Yaçovarman, the son of Indravarman, and so on till we come to Jayavarman V (968-1001 A.D.). Ten kings are mentioned in this genealogy.[2]

In the badly damaged inscription of Prasat Khanat,[3] one can decipher the name of the god Lokanâtha (Buddha) together with that of Jayavarman II. As we shall see Jayavarman, though a Çaiva, paid his homage also to Buddha.

[1] This sentence might also be rendered :—"Under his administration, troubles were not produced in the Eastern world, just as in the case of the Muni's command over grammar prepositions were placed before the root. . ."

[2] Les Inscriptions du Cambodge, Rapport par M. Bergaigne, pp. 27-28.

[3] Aymonier, Le Cambodge, tome II, p. 394.

M. Finot, in the Indian Historical Quarterly Review (Dec. 1925), writes that Jayavarman II was probably a Buddhist at least in the beginning of his reign. Most of his pious foundations were dedicated to Lokeçvara. Jayavarman II reigned 67 years (724-791), for the Khmer inscription of Nea Ta Bak Ka[1] states that his successor ascended the throne in 791 (869 A.D.).

New Phase of Khmer Architecture.

During this long reign Jayavarman built three capitals one after another. With him begins the golden age of Kambuja architecture. Probably his stay in Java, where the Çailendra dynasty of Çrivijaya (Sumatra) had already begun their magnificent temples, gave him the inspiration for this building activity. Hariharâlaya, the abode of Hari-Hara (Çiva-Viṣṇu, a very popular combination in Indo-China), was his first capital, after leaving Indrapura which already existed (perhaps towards the east), when he came from Java. Hariharâlaya has been identified with Prakhân,[2] situated to the north, and in the immediate vicinity of the site of the future Angkor Thom. With Prakhân begins thus both the new type

[1] *Ibid*, t. 1, p. 421.

[2] Aymonier, Le Cambodge, t. 1, p. 430 *ei seq.*

of architecture and the superb group of monuments of the Angkor region. The position was indeed admirable for a capital. The great lake is very near and at the same time the ground is well above its level and quite dry. The temple of Prakhân is as usual oriented with a large artificial lake in front (which is about two miles in length and $\frac{1}{3}$ of a mile in width). This lake is now called Pra Reach Dâk—the sacred Dâk—the word Dâk being derived from the Sanscrit Taṭâka (tank). In the centre of this vast sheet of water there is a small temple encircled by two Nâgas. It is on an islet in which also there are numerous small tanks symmetrically arranged. Out of the central small tank rises the little sanctuary—now completely demolished. From the representations of Nâgas in the sculptures and the numerous tanks it seems probable that the sanctuary was consecrated to an aquatic deity—probably the Nâgi ancestress of Kambuja. This cult however did not last long. Such temples, called Méboune now-a-days, became more and more humble in size and design in the later capitals of Jayavarman II.[1]

Close to the tank rises the Puri (royal residence) of Prakhân. The wide ditch round the Puri is crossed by broad stone bridges, with parapets of giants holding serpents in their hands

[1] Aymonier, L'Ancien Cambodge, 1920, pp. 63-75, for the capitals of Jayavarman II.

(representing the churning of the ocean—a well-known theme of Indian mythology), which lead to high gates surmounted by towers with representations of huge human faces on four sides. The interior is now a complete ruin, but 47 towers, generally with human faces, can still be made out. The trouble was that, in the first period of stone architecture in Kambuja, the architects used frequently wooden beams and rafters, which having given way led to the premature collapse of these structures. But the fine full-size sculptures of nymphs on the walls, the deeply chiselled decorations, the great *garudas* serving as caryatids, and above all the grandeur of the design show the high level of technique attained in the first attempt. It may be noted that heads of the Buddha, of an archaic type, and statues of the Master seated on a Nâga, have also been found among the ruins.

The next capital was Amarendrapura situated on a sandy desert 40 leagues (100 miles) to the north-west of Angkor Thom. It is to be identified with the existing ruins of Banteai Chamar (the fortress of the cat). In the midst of the desert, a large artificial lake has been excavated (which was fed by a stream), in the midst of which there is a Meboune (aquatic temple). From the western shore of the lake rise the ramparts of the Puri (smaller than that at Prakhân—1½ miles east to west and 1¼ north to south). There is a

ditch behind the ramparts, then a wall of limonite, and after that a rectangle of galleries with the sanctuary in the centre. The ditch is crossed by four stone bridges, the railings of which are composed by giants tugging at the Nâga. The bridges had four superb gates, decorated with gigantic garuḍas, and surmounted by towers with their four sides shaped as human faces. From the four gates four paved avenues, adorned with stone lions, lead to the interior where, besides the sanctuary, there are other edifices also.[1] The rectangle of galleries, enclosing the sanctuary, have their walls covered with bas-reliefs such as can be seen only at the Bayon and Angkor Vat. These represent, besides Brahmanic deities, persons having a small figure of Buddha engraved on their head-dress. Religious processions, the procession of the sacred fire, princesses in palanquins, troops marching, battle scenes, naval encounters, etc., are to be seen here.

This great temple was built with bluish sand-stone brought from a great distance. After Angkor Vat and the Bayon (the temple of Angkor Thom) this temple of Bantei Chamar is certainly the next in importance. The shrine was probably Çaiva, but a Çivaism deeply impregnated with Mahâyânist Buddhism. The pediments are sculptured with representations of Buddhist legends, and statues of the Master are numerous. Moreover to this period belongs a royal grant to a

[1] See Aymonier, Le Cambodge, t. ii., p. 337.

Buddhist foundation. We must remember that at this time in Central Java the Hindu temple of Prambanam rose near the Buddhist shrine of Borobodur.

The third and last capital was Mahendra Parvata—the Phnom Kouen of to-day (several leagues to the north-west of Angkor Thom). It is not on the crest of the hill, as the name signifies, but at its foot, but, by a fiction well known both in Kambuja and Champâ, every important structure, especially Çaiva temples, actually at the foot of a hill, is supposed to be theoretically on the top of it. At the foot of Phnom (hill) Koulen are spread the magnificent ruins of Beng Mealea.[1] Here too is the large artificial lake, a very small Meboune, and to the west of it the royal capital. Here also we find the wide ditch, the broad stone bridges, the magnificent gates, the rectangle of galleries, etc., which we have seen in the two former capitals. Here however are two large stone buildings besides the temple. They may have been the palaces in which the monarch actually lived. Another new feature here is the profusion of tanks in the interior. Aymonier calls it a Venice in miniature planted by the royal will in the midst of an arid desert. The ornamental work too, flowers, arabesques, etc., is exceptionally fine. Statues of gods and goddesses are however fewer here. It is to be noted that it was with

[1] Aymonier, Le Cambodge, t. i, pp. 459-461.

Mount Mahendra or Beng Mealea that the memory of Jayavarman seems to be more associated than with any other capital of his in the later inscriptions and traditions.

Such was the grand monarch, whose memory is still preserved in Cambodia under the legendary name of Prah Ket Mealea (or the Lord Ketu Mâlâ), to whom the Cambodians ascribe most of the magnificent ancient temples of the land including Angkor Vat. According to the story, he was really the son of Indra, his supposed father being an elephant driver whom the royal elephant had selected as ruler of the land in a period of anarchy. At this time a nymph of Indra's heaven, had been condemned to a life of exile on this earth for plucking flowers from the garden of a poor Chinese in China. She became the wife of the Chinese and to them was born a son Popusnokar. Shortly afterwards she returned to heaven, but on one of her visits to the earth she was caught by her son, who had been seeking her far and wide, and had to take him to Indra's court. There Popusnokar learnt architecture from the Devaputras. Meanwhile Indra had also brought his son Ket Mealea to heaven, so that the celestial Brahmans might confer on him the blessing of a long life. When Ket Mealea was sent back to Kambuja, he was accompanied by Popusnokar who was asked by Indra to be the architect of his son.

And it was Popusnokar, acting under the orders of Ket Mealea, who built the superb monuments of Kambuja, till one day he had a quarrel with the king about a sword the king had ordered (which when ready the king found too small) and then he returned to China.[1]

It is also from Jayavarman[2] that the sacred sword of Kambuja is supposed to have been handed down—the sword that is the palladium of Kambuja and which is guarded day and night, turn by turn, by the Bakus—the descendants of the old Brahmans. The slightest rust on the blade would forebode a national disaster.

Jayavarman III.

According to the digraphic inscriptions Jayavardhana, son of Jayavarman II, succeeded his father and assumed the title of Jayavarman III on ascending the throne. From the much damaged Khmer inscription of Neak Ta Bak Ka,[3] we learn that he ascended the throne in 791 ç. e. (869 A.D.) and that he reigned only for nine years, *i.e.*, up to 799 ç.e. (877 A.D.). The Sdok Kak Thom inscription states[4]:—"During the reign of H.M. Visnuloka (the posthumous

[1] Legendes Cambodgiennes, Monad, p. 129 *et seq.*, and Aymonier, Textes Khmers and Legendes Cambodgiennes.

[2] G. Maspero, L'Empire Khmer, p. 31.

[3] Aymonier, Le Cambodge, i, p. 421.

[4] B.E.F.E.O., t. xv, No. 2, p. 88.

name of Jayavarman III) the Kamraten Jagat ta râja (the Royal God) resided at Hariharâlaya. A nephew of Çivakaivalya, Sukṣmavindu, was the chaplain of the Royal God and all his relations also served the divinity." He had the reputation of being a great hunter of wild elephants. A Khmer inscription discovered among the ruins of Beng Mealea (Mahendra Parvata) relates the story of his capturing one of these animals. Another inscription found to the south of the great lake refers to his capturing three elephants. The 'stéle' of Palhal mentions the name of a person Brahmarâçika, of Vyâdhapura, who was the chief of the royal elephant-hunters.[1] This is all that we know of this prince who died a premature death.

Indravarman I.

The direct line of Jayavarman II having become extinct, the throne was occupied by a distant relation—Indravarman I, whose maternal grandfather Rudravarman was the maternal uncle of the mother of the last king Jayavarman III.[2] It is curious to note the matriarchal nature of these genealogies. The inscription of the temple of Baku tells us[3]:—"The queen (mother), born of a family where kings have

[1] Coedes, Etude Camb., No. XI, B.E.F.E.O., t. xiii., vi.

[2] I.S.C.C., p. 365, Stanza II.

[3] I.S.C.C., p. 306, Stanza III *et seq.*

succeeded one another, being the daughter of Çri Rudravarman and the maternal grand-daughter of the prince Nripatendravarman, became the wife of the prince Prithivindravarman, who came of a family of Kṣatriyas, and her son was the ruler of the land—Çri Indravarman—before whom kings bowed down. Whose right arm (*i.e.*, the arm of the King Indravarman), long and round, terrible in war when it presses (the enemy) with the swinging sword, the cause of affliction of the rulers of territories of all the directions, and which is invincible, is yet capable of relenting in two cases—when (the enemy) can face him no longer, or when (the enemy) seeks refuge under his protection so that his life may be spared. Çri Indravarman, assuming the royal power in 799 ç.e., has since then rendered his subjects happy and assured their prosperity..... Having acquired the kingdom he vowed first of all that within five days he would begin the work of excavation (of tanks), etc. The Creator, tired of creating many kings, has created this king, Çri Indravarman, for the satisfaction of the three worlds. In the Çaka year 801.....Çri Indravarman has constructed three images of the Lord and (three images) of the goddess at the same time according to his own (ideas of ?) art."

From the Khmer portion of this inscription, we find that the king also dedicated the six

towers of the temple to his deified ancestors—the three towers of the front row being consecrated to Prithivindeçvara, Parameçvara and Rudreçvara respectively. Now Prithivindeçvara is the deified name of the king's father, Prithivindravarman, who is thus identified with Çiva. Parameçvara also, a title of Çiva, is the *nom d' apotheose* [1] of Jayavarman II, and Rudreçvara (another name of Çiva) of the king's maternal grandfather Rudravarman. The two towers in the second row are dedicated to Prithivindra-devi and Dhavanindra-devi respectively. The inscription for the third tower in this row is missing. Now these feminine names signify both the goddess Durgâ and the wives of Prithivindravarman and Jayavarman. These towers were meant as the sanctuaries for the three images of Çiva and the three images of Durgâ mentioned in the Sanscrit inscription. So we have here Çiva adored in the three aspects of the king's father, grandfather and Jayavarman II. We shall come back to this point later on.

At Bayang has been discovered another inscription of Indravarman I.[2] "The Lord of Kambuja, Çri Indravarman, distinguished by all the virtues, has become king in the Çaka year 799." Then follow three stanzas, which are the same, word by word, as the stanzas III,

[1] I. S. C. C., p. 302.
[2] I. S. C. C., p. 315.

IV and VI of the Baku inscription containing an eulogy of the king. Then follows a highly complex description of the king's sword :— "Red on account of piercing into the cavity of the heads of the enemy's elephants, the blade shining like a snake's hood (with its jewelled crest) on account of the stream of pearls (which it has torn out from the elephant's head), terrible in battle is his sharp-edged sword, like the king of snakes on the candana creeper,—to which the arm of the king can be compared." In the 10th stanza his victorious campaigns are referred to :—"Across the sea of fighting, difficult to cross, for crossing his army, he has constructed a bridge (like Râma) with the chopped heads of his proud enemies." Then we are told the object of this inscription. " By him, whose orders kings accept on their heads, this golden chariot (or tower), resplendent with jewels, (adorned) with creepers with beautiful leaves, has been constructed with devotion for the Supreme Lord at Çivapura, to keep off cold, etc. He who has never retreated from battle, the most pious lion among kings, has assigned for the ritual of worship of Him, who wears on His crest the digit of the new moon, other wonderful brilliant accessories of gold and silver. He, the sole hero, has endowed two monasteries, named after himself (Indra), with all the means of subsistence and enjoyment, with splendid tanks

—which (monasteries) he has filled with slaves, etc., where guests and other people have their wants satisfied by the abundance of all the necessities of life stored up previously."

At another temple at Bakong we have five inscriptions of Indravarman I, under five of the eight towers, each of which reproduces word by word the first eight stanzas of the Baku inscription (containing an eulogy of the king) and then abruptly breaks off.[1] Even the object of the inscription is not mentioned. Yet Bakong is a magnificent monument, the first of the great pyramidal structures which are characteristic of the fully developed (the "classic") period of Khmer architecture. The incomplete inscription seems to imply that the temple was abandoned as soon as it was built. The edifice consists of five terraces of sandstone rising one above the other. Forty lions, which diminish in size the higher up we go, adorn the four staircases on the four sides. Twenty large monolithic elephants, which also get smaller and smaller on the upper stages, are placed at the angles of the terraces. Eight fine brick towers crown this pyramid, which is in the midst of a vast enclosure, walled and surrounded by a ditch which is crossed by causeways ornamented with parapets of many-hooded Nâgas.[2]

[1] I. S. C. C., p. 311.

[2] Aymonier, L'Ancien Cambodge, 1920, p. 81.

The Baku temple, to which we have already referred, has six brick towers smaller in size and humbler in design than those of Bakong. Both of these ruins are at a distance of about ten miles to the south-west of Angkor Thom, in the immediate vicinity of which was Hariharâlaya, the capital at this period.[1]

The architecture of Indravarman's reign has got some peculiar characteristics, which have led M. Parmentier, the head of the Archaeological Department of French Indo-China, to call it a separate school of architecture—the "art of Indravarman." [2] It is much more allied to the early Khmer art—the art of Funan—than to the architecture of Jayavarman II's reign. Brick towers are common both to the period of Indravarman and that of early Funan. There are also at this period no galleries joining the different portions of a temple, which is so characteristic a feature of the later monuments of Angkor Thom and Angkor Vat. The structures also, as in the early Funan period, tower up high without spreading over a wide area. The part played by the decorative art, which leaves no surface untouched as in Bayon (the chief temple of Angkor Thom), has not become so prevalent at this time; though the simple Funan style of bare unworked surfaces has also

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Parmentier, L'Art d'Indravarman, B.E.F.E.O., t. xix, 1.2.

been discarded. The decorative art of Indravarman's reign resembles wood-carving while the later style becomes as exuberant as painting. The distinctly Pallava features of ornamentation, the kudu (of the form of a horse-shoe with some figure inside the curve) and the tiruachi [1] (a motif of two makaras at each end of a crescent-shaped design), have however both disappeared from the art of Indravarman, though they played a very conspicuous rôle in that of Funan.

It is a very curious fact indeed that, during the reign of Indravarman, there should have been evolved a special school of art different both from that of his predecessor Jayavarman and from that of his son and successor, Yaçovarman, the royal builder '*par excellence*' of Kambuja.

Indravarman I died in 811 ç.e. (889 A.D.), and his soul was supposed to have passed on to "the world of the Lord"—Içvara-loka—that being his posthumous name.

Before we go on to the next reign, that of his son Yaçovarman, which constitutes a landmark in the history of Kambuja, we might note a few particulars about the epigraphy of Indravarman's period. We should remember that we have no contemporary inscriptions of Jayavarman II. We only have references to his

[1] Kudu and tiruachi are South Indian terms.

career in much later genealogies, etc. So that the inscriptions of Indravarman are the first official "records," which have come to light after the inscriptions of Jayavarman I who reigned in the second half of the 7th century. During the interval of two centuries noteworthy changes had taken place in the appearance of the letters. They had become round in form, *e.g.*, "v" had become almost a perfect circle. The curves had become more graceful. The flourishes had developed to a certain extent, but had not yet been superposed uniformly on all the letters, for ornamental purposes, as they would be in the next reign. Certainly there was a gain in artistic effect thereby, but it also becomes more difficult to distinguish the letters from one another. The Jihvâmuliya and Upadhmâniya had quite dropped out of use at this period. The "d" and "ḍ" and "b" and "v" are confused with one another more than ever. The "b" is often replaced by "v" in words where "b" is required. But the language is quite correct, and no fault can be ascribed to the engraver.

CHAPTER VI.

YAÇOVARMAN AND ANGKOR THOM.

Yaçovardhana,[1] the son of Indravarman, succeeded his father and on his accession assumed the title of Yaçovarman. He was one of the grand monarchs of Kambuja, and it was under him that Kambuja architecture reached its highest point. None of the Khmer kings has celebrated his name in so many inscriptions as he, yet he remains a mysterious figure. His preceptor or guru was Vâmaçiva—a Brahman who was the disciple of Çivasoma, the guru of his father. Vâmaçiva was the Upâdhyâya (professor) of Indravarman, and it was in the life-time of Indravarman that he was entrusted with the education of Yaçovardhana, who was then quite young.[2]

The inscriptions, engraved on the stone door panels of the four towers of the temple of Loley, tell us :—"The king of kings, Çri Yaçovarman, who assumed the (royal) power in the year designated by the moon, the moon and eight (811 ç.e.), has given all this—servants, etc.,

[1] It is interesting that at least four of the kings of Kambuja, before they ascended the throne, had names which did not end in "Varman," *e.g.*, Citrasena (Mahendravarman), Içânasena (Içanavarman), Jayavardhana (Jayavarman III) and Yaçovardhana (Yaçovarman).

[1] Inscr. Sdok Kak Thom, B.E.F E.O., t. xv, No. 2, p. 89.

to the Supreme Lord erected by himself. He, the foremost of donors, asks again and again of all the future sovereigns of Kambuja, that this pious bridge (across the cares of this world) should be preserved. You, who are the incarnations of glory, you, who are ready to sacrifice your lives for the sake of duty, you, who are the first among those who hold high their heads, could you covet the wealth of the gods? Guard this (pious work) from persons, who, in the presence of custodians (of monuments), present an honest appearance, but who profit by a hole to rob the possession of the gods. Even in the age of truth, Râhu, assumed the guise of a god to steal the ambrosia. Just as Viṣṇu, overpowering Râhu and his like, preserved the gods and the ambrosia, so you too, by killing the thieves, should protect the god and his property. I know well that begging is as death, especially for a king. However death in a pious cause is praiseworthy for the good. Therefore I ask you, you who would not refuse me. The royal children, ministers, and others should protect this (sacred monument) by (public) proclamations, etc. To you, who are loving as well as learned, the onerous task of upkeeping (this) is entrusted by the king."[1]

"In the Çaka year 815...Çri Yaçovarman has erected at the same time these statues of

[1] I.S.C.C., p. 325.

Gauri and the Lord (Çiva) which he has made himself."

Ancestor Worship.

From the Khmer inscriptions of this temple of Loley, we learn that the two images of Çiva, in the two towers of the front row, bore the names of Indravarmeçvara and Mahâpatîçvara respectively. So here too the king's father and maternal grandfather, Indravarman and Mahâpatîvarman, are worshipped as Çiva. In the two towers of the second row, the two images of Bhavâni were named Indra devi and Râjendra devi—the names of the king's mother and maternal grandmother respectively. So here also, as in the temple of Baku of the preceding reign, we have ancestor-worship and the worship of the gods combined together.

In the Pratimâ nâtaka, one of the dramas recently discovered in South India and attributed to Bhâsa, there is a reference to an image of the deceased king who might have been deified in this way. The statue of Daçaratha is added to the statues of his predecessors in the pratimâ (statue) hall.[1] In Travancore there is something like this form of ancestor worship in families. Probably an indigenous cult of ancestor-worship existed in Indo-China and reinforced the Indian form of it.

[1] Keith, Sanscrit Drama, p. 100.

The Khmer inscription (undated) of Bantei Chhmar[1] gives us very curious information :— "When Bharat Râhu Saṃvuddhi revolted against H. M. Yaçovarman, and assaulted the royal palace (vrah mandira), all the troops in the capital took to flight. The king came forth to fight in person. The Sanjak Arjuna and the Sanjak (a Khmer word which may mean "faithful" or "bound by an oath") Çri Dharadevapura fought so as to cover the person of the king and fell before his eyes. After repressing the rebellion of Bharata Râhu, the king conferred the titles of Vrah Kamraten An Çri Nṛpasiṃhavarman on Sanjak Devapura, son of Sanjak Çri Dharadevapura, conferred the posthumous dignity of Amten on the two deceased Sanjaks, caused their statues to be erected, and lavished wealth and favours on their families."

"The king invaded Campa Dvipa to the East. Then he seized the fort which the king of Campa, Çri Jaya Indravarman, had constructed on Mount Vek. In the place of the king he put on the throne a general (senâpati) of Campa. The Campa people lay in ambush and surrounded the king (of Kambuja), with twelve bodies of troops, which, though repulsed, continued to fight without respite. The king had to retreat with his army, still fighting, to Mount Trayâchar. The troops of Campa besieged him on this mountain,

[1] Aymonier, Le Cambodge, ii, pp. 344-345.

and their turbaned warriors attacked him, but they were all killed or disabled except thirty-one. The king descended (from the mountain), and fought his way down to the foot of the mountain, which the enemy had surrounded, and no one dared measure arms with him. The Sanjak Çri Deva and the Sanjak Çri Vardhana, whose families were bound to the king by oath, and both of whom came from the country of Vijayapura, begged him to allow them to sacrifice their lives before his eyes. The Campa troops attacked them in a body, and the two nobles, true to their vow, fell mortally wounded. His Majesty gave them a royal funeral. The king brought back his troops, fighting continuously, by the four lakes...On his return to Kambuja he conferred on the two deceased Sanjaks the posthumous title of Amten and erected their statues."

Another portion of this inscription tells us that to the south-east of the shrine was the god Arjuna-deva, to the north-east the god Çri Dhara-devapura, to the south-west the god Çri Deva-deva and to the north-west the god Vardhana-deva—all Mantris (ministers)." This passage must refer to the statues of the faithful nobles and it shows that they too were deified.

The inscription of Phnom Sandak,[1] dated 817 ç.e., contains the most elaborate invocation to the Trimurti, *i.e.*, Çiva, Visnu and Brahmâ, and

[1] I. S. C. C., p. 336.

the goddesses Gauri and Sarasvati :—"Om ! Prosperity ! Success ! Good auspices ! Victory ! Salutation to Çiva, whose toe-nail, moistened by the honey of the celestial mandâra-flower on Indra's head, prostrate before him, gleams with lustre. Bow down to Rudra, from whose lotus feet the pollen falls off like the smoke of the flames of the myriads of jewels on the crest of gods (prostrate before him). Victory to Dhûrjati, in whose flaming red locks Gangâ hides herself, fearing to be consumed by the wrath of Umâ. Victory to the Great Boar, whose tusks gleam like the sprouts of the glory of Him (Viṣṇu) who traversed the three worlds with (three) strides. I salute Viṣṇu in whose arms shines the earth...May the (four) faces of Brahmâ, in the lotus of the cosmic ocean, protect you, faces which are themselves like lotuses issued from the (cosmic) lotus for the death of Madhu and Kaiṭava (or for the death of bees greedy of honey). I salute Gauri, whose lotus face shrinks with bashfulness during the first caresses of Hara, as if to escape from contact with the rays of the moon (which her lord bears on his forehead).[1] Salutation to the goddess Sarasvati, divinity supreme of speech, which consists of sound, and who is invoked even in the invocations to other (deities)." Then follows an eulogy

[1] The lotus closes when the moon rises.

of Yaçovarman till we come to the object of the inscription (stanza 18). "During his reign there was an eminent muni (seer), whose lotus-like feet were worshipped by munis, of the name of Somaçiva, an ocean of learning in the Çâstras. There was a disciple of the venerable Somaçiva, whom the lord of the earth (Yaçovarman) has appointed as professor in the domain of Çri Indravarmeçvara (*i.e.*, in the estate of the god). He, after having churned with his Mandâra-like [1] intelligence the sea of Çivaçâstra,[2] and having drunk the nectar of knowledge, through compassion, gave it to others to drink. In whose lotus-like mouth, which won the minds (of men) by the honey of grammar trickling from it, Sarasvati like a bee was pleased to dwell. It is he who has consecrated here, with due honours, the linga Çri Bhadreçvara in the çaka year 817."

Digraphic Inscriptions.

Now we come to the digraphic inscriptions of Yaçovarman. Really there are only two texts—the shorter being reproduced in eleven inscriptions and the longer only in one. All these are at different places. Each of these

[1] Mandara is the mountain with which the gods churned the ocean to extract the ambrosia.

[2] Probably the grammar of Pâṇini which is supposed to have been revealed by Çiva.

inscriptions however gives the same text twice—once in the usual Kambuja characters of the ornate type of the period of Yaçovarman, and a second time in characters of a foreign origin. Such repetitions of the same text in so many instances are not to be found in any other case in Indo-China. They are rare in India too. Of course Açoka's inscriptions are reproduced at many different places. But they were royal edicts, and the king had to see that his words were transmitted to his people as faithfully as possible.

Yaçovarman's inscriptions are more of a literary than of an official type. They could well have been written in different words. Here the repetition seems something like a fashion, and to seek other examples of this particular fashion we have to turn to a country which apparently had the closest relations of all with Kambuja, which transmitted to Kambuja her principal alphabet, the termination "Varman" of the names of her kings, and her Çivaism. It is in the Seven Pagodas (near Madras), in the inscriptions engraved by the ancient Pallava kings on their "rathas," and in other temples of this region at Çaluvankappa and at Kâncipura, inscriptions mostly earlier than those of Yaçovarman, that we come across this particular fashion of repetition. By a curious coincidence it is also on the same monuments at Çaluvankappa

and Kâncipura that we find examples of the other strange feature of these inscriptions of Yaçovarman—the "digraphism," *i.e.*, writing of the same text in two different scripts.[1]

Burnell, in his "Elements of South Indian Paleography," says about the Nâgari inscriptions, found side by side with inscriptions in the local script at Çaluvankappa, that they were intended for the convenience of pilgrims from the north. Barth however thinks that, as regards these long and learned Kambuja inscriptions, the idea is not so much of practical convenience as that of a pompous fashion. He says that the fact, that such digraphic inscriptions are to be found both in India and in Kambuja, shows with what facility fashions spread even to the extreme corners of the Hinduised Orient.

A North Indian Alphabet.

But more important than this feature of digraphism is the appearance in Kambuja of this new alphabet All the alphabets of Kambuja up to this time (they differ from one another only in matters of ornamental detail) have been of unmistakably South Indian (Pallava) origin. But this new alphabet, which appears with Yaçovarman and which did not long survive him, belongs to the Nâgari class

[1] I.S.C.C., pp. 347-349.

of North Indian alphabets. Now at a period, not much removed from the time of the Kambuja inscriptions (about the 7th or 8th century çaka), we find in India an alphabet used in inscriptions on monuments so far to the south as the region of the Seven Pagodas. And, as it was a case of abrupt transmission of a script from one region to another, the new system did not take root in the soil. This movement was not an isolated one. Burnell writes[1] that inscriptions in this (Nâgari) character, both Hindu and Buddhist, occur in considerable numbers in Java. "Grants, explanatory remarks, inscriptions on rings, and Buddhist confessions of faith have all been found in this character."[2] In the British Museum the writer has seen an image of a goddess from Java with the name inscribed in North Indian characters remarkably like Bengali. Now this script from North India is quite different from the old Javanese characters which came from the Pallava region of Southern India. Burnell says :— "It is thus plain that the examples which occur of this character in South India and Java must be due to emigrants from the North who saw fit to leave their own country in considerable numbers. It may not be impossible to discover the causes of this immigration, which, in later times,

[1] South Indian Paleography, p. 53.

[2] *Ibid.*

is probably to be attributed to the Muhammadan conquest. In earlier times religious disputes may have been the cause. There is little trace of development of this character." [1]

Since then, the discovery of the Mahayanist inscription of Kalasan in Central Java has proved that this North Indian alphabet and northern Buddhism existed in Java much earlier than Burnell thought when he wrote this passage. (Burnell was of opinion that a large emigration of Buddhists from North India to Java took place about the 11th century).[2] This inscription of Kalasan is dated the year 700 ç.e., *i.e.*, 778 A.D., and M. Coedes by his researches published in 1918 has shown that it is an inscription of the king of the Çailendra dynasty of the Çrivijaya kingdom in Sumatra. This kingdom of Çrivijaya rose to great power about this time and ruled over considerable portions of Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula and Java.

Did the wave, which carried this alphabet to Kambuja, come directly from North India or from the Coromandel Coast or from Java? On one side, Kambuja inscriptions mention several times the arrival of Brahmans, and once at least a Brahman born on the banks of the Jumna in North India is mentioned as living in Kambuja.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

[2] The Indian Antiquary, Vol. V, p. 315.

On the other hand the Nâgari alphabet in Kambuja does not exactly resemble any one of the scripts in India—not even the North Indian script in the Seven Pagodas (*c.* 700 A.D.). On the contrary there are several characteristic features in common with the characters of the Kalasan inscription of Java. They differ only by the abundance of flourishes which had long been a peculiarity of the Kambuja epigraphy. It is also at Java that this alphabet has left the most numerous traces—those near Madras being scanty for this period. It was only much later that Nandi-nâgari became extensively used in South India. It seems that this North Indian alphabet arrived in Kambuja only after making a long halt in Java.

As regards general aspects the letters are not broad—as in Deva-nâgari—but long, vertical and angular as in Bengali. Then the vertical bar placed to the right of most of the new letters has acquired a prominence both in Java and in Kambuja as it has nowhere else in India except in Bengali. To sum up, as Burnell has already recognised as regards the script of the Seven Pagodas, this new Kambuja alphabet belongs to the eastern branch of the Nâgari family, the branch now represented by Bengali. As a further proof of this it may be mentioned that the medial form of the vowel é (é-kâr) is in this Kambuja script a curve placed to the left

of the consonant (just as in Bengali) and not on the top of the consonant as in Nâgari.

The text of the shorter inscription, which is reproduced in two scripts eleven times (at different places), contains first a praçasti (eulogy) of Yaçovarman, which includes also a long genealogy, and secondly a çâsana or ordinance of gifts which is, according to Barth, strikingly reminiscent of those Smriti treatises which follow most closely the style of the sutras.

We have already referred to this genealogy on p. 65. The great emphasis laid on the high connections of the mother of Yaçovarman is to be noted. Through her father, Indradevi (Yaçovarman's mother) was connected with "the lord of Aninditapura, Puṣkarâkṣa, who also acquired the principality of Çambhupura, and who was the maternal uncle of the maternal uncle of the mother of the king who established his residence on Mount Mahendra (Jayavarman II)." Through her mother, Indradevi traced her descent from "a Brahman of the name of Agastya, a scholar of the Vedas and Vedângas, whose place of origin was Âryadeça (North India?), and his royal consort of illustrious descent—Yaçomati distinguished by her renown."[1] Yaçovarman's father, Indravarman I, was the grandson of a simple

[1] I. S. C. C., p. 364, stanza 5.

Kṣatriya, but it is noteworthy that his (Yaçovarman's) father married his cousin (maternal uncle's daughter) which is contrary to the orthodox Hindu practice. The genealogy comes to a close with the 16th stanza[1]:—"It was from this lord of the earth (Indravarman), whose renown spread in all directions, and his queen Çri Indradevi, that was born, like Kârttikeya from the daughter of the mountain and Tripurâri (Pârvati and Çiva), the unique accumulation of energy, the king Çri Yaçovarman."

Then follows the eulogy of Yaçovarman which is merely a pompous affair. In the 28th stanza (p. 366) we get:—"This king, well versed (in kingly duties), performed the Koṭi-homa and the Yajnas (Vedic sacrifices), for which he gave the priests magnificent presents of jewels, gold, etc." This is one of the few references to Vedic sacrifices in Kambuja. The 32nd and the following stanzas (p. 367) give the object of the inscription:—"He had erected on the isle of the lake of Indra (the artificial tank excavated by his father Indravarman) four images of Çiva and his consort, purifying like the four Vedas, for the (spiritual) welfare of his ancestors. He cut into three pieces, with one stroke of his sword, a long, round, thick and hard (bar of) iron for having dared to rival his arm.[2] Shooting

[1] I. S. C. C., p. 365.

[2] The inscriptions of the Gangas, dated from the 5th to the 8th century A.D., tell of Konganivarman "distinguished for the strength and

arrows with his left hand as with his right (like Arjuna), having Hari as his ally (like Arjuna), the sole hero (fit) for the conquest of the earth (go-grahana—a pun alluding to the cattle-lifting raid in the Mahâbhârata), he carried off the glory of victory. The moon of glory in the firmament of the royal race of Kambuja—he excavated the unruffled lake of Yaçodhara. Having dedicated the âçrama (monastery) of Yaçodhara (to Çiva?), in the çaka year 811, he made this çâsana (ordinance) for (the shrine of) Ganeça of Mount Candana."

Temple Regulations.

In the çâsana, which is the same in all the inscriptions, only the 36th stanza varies, for it contains the name of the particular deity (as in this case of Ganeça) to whom the donation is made. Then follow very interesting details (pp. 367-368) which give the regulations of Çiva temples—details which recall the minute formalities observed in sanctuaries of Çiva in South India. These details are identical in all the inscriptions:—"All the things, which the king Yaçovarman has given to the Âçrama (Yaçodharâçrama)—pearls, gold, silver, cows, horses, buffaloes, elephants, men, women,

valour attested by the great pillar of stone divided with a single stroke of his sword."—Mysore Inscriptions by Lewis Rice, pp. 282-293.

gardens, etc., are not to be tåken away by the king or anybody else. Into the interior of the royal hut—the king, the Brahmans, and the offspring of kings (kṣàtriyas) can alone enter without taking off their ornaments. Others, such as the common people forming the escort of nobles, can only enter in a humble dress without garlands—the flower nandyâvarta however being allowed in their case too . . . (The common people) should not take any food or chew the betelnut there. The common people (not forming the escort of nobles) will not enter. There should be no quarrels. (Mock) ascetics of bad character should not lie down there. Brahmans, worshippers of Çiva and Viṣṇu, good people of good manners, can lie down there to recite their prayers in a low voice and to give themselves up to meditation. With the exception of the king—whoever passes in front of the monastery shall get down from his chariot and walk uncovered by an umbrella. This is not applicable to strangers. The excellent ascetic, who is appointed the head of the monastery, should always offer food, drink, betel and do all the duties, as for example offering welcome to guests, such as Brahmans, children of kings (kṣatriyas ?), ministers, the leaders of the army, ascetics of the Çaiva and Vaiṣnava cult, and the best among the common people. They are to be honoured according to the order laid down here.

As long as the sun and the moon exist, may those go to hell, who break and transgress the çâsana (order) thus decreed. Those who follow the çâsana thus laid down and strengthen it, may they obtain half the merit acquired (by the donor)."

These digraphic inscriptions are admirably engraved. Nothing could be more elegant or more painstaking. They are scattered all over the kingdom, but the style of engraving is so similar that they probably are the work of the same craftsman or the same group of craftsmen.

The digraphic inscription at Loley[1] gives a much longer text, which up to this time has been found only there. Fifteen of its stanzas are common to the other digraphic inscriptions. It contains 93 stanzas, but, inspite of its great length it does not throw much additional light on Yaçovarman. The invocation is to Çiva, who is worshipped at Loley as Indravarmeçvara (Indravarman was the king's father):—"Adoration to Çiva, who at first was one, who, at the commencement of the world, for his own pleasure, divided himself into three—the (god) with four faces, the (god) with four arms, and Çambhu—and who at the end of the Yuga will again become only one." The 34th and 40th stanzas refer to Vedic sacrifices of the king:—"Devoted to fire sacrifices (homa) and yoga

[1] I.S.C.C., pp. 393-402.

(practices), attached to the Vedas, protector of his subjects, he was (in these respects) like the Creator ; he was however (unlike the Creator who can only deal with man according to his karma) as he could not be influenced by external things. His innumerable sacrifices, with the waves of smoke (rising towards heaven), served, as it were, as a staircase to his desire to mount up to the (heavenly) abode of Indra." The 39th stanza refers to an episode in Kalidâsa's Raghuvaṃça, Canto II :—"Even in adversity he never gave up right conduct, just as Dilîpa never abandoned the cow Nandinî, and this right conduct, fulfilling all desires (like the celestial cow Nandinî), was the source of the prosperity of his subjects." This might be also a veiled allusion to some reverse suffered by the king. In the 49th stanza there is an allusion to Suçruta, the well-known Hindu writer on medicine :—"With words (such as) pronounced by Suçruta...he, the sole physician, cured all the maladies of his subjects—even those of the other world (*i.e.*, of the spiritual world)." As this is the earliest reference to Suçruta, who has been supposed to have lived much later than the 9th century, and about whose very name doubts have been expressed, this passage makes a welcome contribution to the history of the Sanscrit literature on medicine. In the 51st stanza we hear of the accomplishments of the king :—"He was learned

in all the scriptures, (skilled) in the use of all the weapons, (expert) in all fine arts, languages, and scripts, and in dancing and singing, and other (accomplishments)—as if he were the first inventor (of these arts)." The 55th stanza contains an allusion to Arjuna's shooting at the target at the competition for Draupadi's hand (Mahâbhârata). "For hitting the target, though it was not fixed (*i.e.* moving), through a hole in the centre of a (revolving) wheel, he was not only like Arjuna in his exploits, but he was also like Bhima in his impetuosity." The 56th stanza states:—"He who reigned over the earth, the limits of which were the Chinese frontier and the sea, and whose qualities, glory, learning, and prosperity were without any limits." Stanzas 60 to 63 mention the various royal gifts (to the four images of Çiva and Çarvānî—Durgâ—consecrated in the temple) consisting of ornaments, vases of gold and silver, spittoons, palanquins, fans, umbrellas, peacock feathers, men and beautiful women clever in singing and dancing, villages paying rent, herds of cattle, gardens, etc. The slaves were never to be employed by the king except for defence against a hostile army invading the kingdom and in that case only. Then follow regulations prohibiting the wearing of ornaments, except light earrings, by those visiting the temple. Blue or many coloured clothes are not to be worn there.

Honest men and women, desirous of worshipping the divinities, could enter with offerings proportionate to their means. Those who did not possess any other wealth except faith could enter only with a flower. Mutilated persons,[1] ungrateful people, hunchbacks, dwarfs, great sinners, vagabonds and foreigners, lepers and condemned persons could not be allowed to enter the precincts of Çiva. Those only should serve the god—who were followers of (the cult of) Maheçvara, self-controlled, of good family and character, and who had attained peace of mind. As regards those who through presumption would break this decree, if they were Brahmans, as they could not be punished by blows or fines, they were to be ejected from the compound. The royal princes were to be fined 20 palas of gold, and half of that amount was to be the fine for the relations and the ministers of the king. Half of the (last) amount was the fine for those who were privileged to carry gold-handled umbrellas, and half of that for the principal merchants. Half of (the last) amount was for the worshippers of Çiva and Viṣṇu, and half of that for the common people. Those of the common people who could not pay the fine were to be caned on the back. If any offence was committed against

[1] *Cf.* Manu as regards the mutilated being considered as inauspicious.

the rites of worship, the temple vessels, the prescribed time and the purity (of worship), all the custodians (of the temple), beginning with the head (abbot), were to be fined, along with the culprits, varying amounts ranging from 20 palas of gold according to the grade laid down. In the last (93rd) stanza we have:— "He, who has the majesty of the lord of the ambujas (lotuses),[1] the lord of the Kambujas, with eyes like the ambuja (lotus), is the writer of this script called the Kambuja script."

Besides the digraphic inscriptions there are seven inscriptions which are written only in the North Indian characters. Six of them are Hindu inscriptions. The seventh, that of Tep Pranam, is about a Saugatâçrama (a Buddhist monastery); and the third stanza of the invocation is addressed to the Buddha. Five of the Hindu inscriptions are engraved on stone slabs on or near the embankment of Thnâl Baray—the ancient lake of Yaçodhara, on the bank of which was situated the Âçrama of Yaçodhara. Four are at the four angles of the embankment and the 5th is to the south-east of it. Only the eulogy of the king and the description of the lake differ in the four inscriptions at the four angles—the rest being common to all of them. The fifth, which is not on the embankment,

[1] The sun, the lord of the lotus.

contains in addition an ordinance (çâsana), like those which we have already seen, about the âçrama which was probably situated where this inscription has been found. The inscriptions, though poor in historical matter, are important, as we shall see, from the standpoint of the history of Sanscrit literature. Moreover they throw light incidentally on religious and other customs.

Âçrama Regulations.

The 10th stanza of the inscription which deals with the Âçrama (p. 421, I.S.C.C.) states:—"Alth ough he (the king) knew all that could be known, on account of his unobscured intellect, he employed the eyes of spies in order that the r oyal position might not be assailed." Stanzas 3 to 8 (p. 422) lay down the order of precedence according to which guests were to be honoured in the âçrama:—"Then (after the king) the Brâhmana should be honoured above all others; if they are many, their qualities and their learning should be taken into consideration (to settle the question of precedence). The royal prince, the minister, the commander of the army, and good (or eminent) people should be honoured with great care according to the order given here. Especially is the valiant (person), who has shown his courage, to be honoured; the warlike is to be preferred to the unwarlike as

the defence of religion depends on him. Next to the Brâhmana are to be honoured a Çaiva âcârya and a Pâçupata âcârya, if one of them is learned in grammar[1] he is to be honoured above the other. The âcârya, who is the most learned among the scholars of Çaiva and Pâçupata doctrines and of grammar, that professor is to receive the highest honours in this great âçrama. The house-holder, who has studied much, is to be honoured as much as the âcârya, for it is said by Manu that of the qualities acquired the highest is knowledge." Then follows (stanza 9, p. 423) a quotation from Manu (II, 136):—"Wealth, friends, age, pious acts and fifthly learning—these are the claims to respect in the ascending order of importance." The following stanzas (10 and 11, p. 423) give:—"All common people, the young, the old, invalids, the paupers, and the orphans should be provided carefully with food, medicine, etc. Every day the gold offering is to be done, as it is prescribed, and a brown cow is to be honoured with grass and other rites." In stanzas 13, 14, and 15 (p. 423) a curious practice is alluded to:—"For those who, through devotion to duty, have fallen on the battlefield, for the faithful who are dead, for the departed, who are deprived of funeral offerings, having no relations ...for all these, at the end of every month, funeral

[1] *i.e.*, if he is a Sanscrit scholar.

offerings are to be made with four âdhakas of rice. The funeral offerings are to be prepared in the âçrama, then they are to be brought and offered on the banks of the Yaçodhara lake.'' Barth thinks that this is quite contrary to the orthodox Hindu practice, according to which funeral offerings could only be made to the souls of the deceased by blood relations. But there is a passage in the Çrâddha (funeral service) mantras, in which an offering is made to those who have died without issue or those for whom the proper funeral ceremonies could not be performed. Then the heroes of the battle of Kurukṣetra are also invoked in the "ruci-mantra" of the Çrâddha ceremony. But this is done by individuals while performing the annual funeral rites for their departed ancestors. In this particular case the âçrama is doing it on behalf of the community, which is unusual in India.

The passage which follows has been partially effaced, but we can make out that food, betel leaves, twigs to be used as tooth-brush, a handful of dipika (grains of a plant used as a digestive), etc., were to be given to guests, such as âcâryas, ascetics, etc. The food given to the student was to be according to the age (of the recipient). The crows too were to get some rice. Cooked rice[1]

[1] Khârî, âdhaka and prastha are the measures of rice mentioned in the inscription. Khârî is a measure of grain of about 3 bushels, âdhaka is ¼th of the Khârî and prastha ¼th of the âdhaka.

only was to be given. Three bowls (or ladle-fulls) of rice and ten of curries were to be given according as they presented themselves. Ashes (with which Çaivas besmear their bodies), a special kind of ashes containing alkali (to be used as soap) for washing the long locks (which Çaivas keep), a receptacle for ashes, another for incense, another for fire, and a jar for water were to be given to âcâryas and deserving ascetics. Blank leaves (of palm or birch), ink, and chalk were to be given to students, and on special days, such as the five festivals, they were to be given special food. Once in their cells the ascetics would be free from the control of the supervisor. If innocent persons came to seek (in the âçrama) a refuge in their fright, they were not to be handed over to their persecutor, and he was not to seize them. Neither by word, thought, nor act was anyone to be killed there....Inoffensive creatures (animals) were not to be killed in the vicinity of the Âçrama or the lake. A king's daughter, a king's grand-daughter, old ladies of the royal household, and chaste women were to be honoured there as the other guests. They should not however enter the cells. Women, known to be of bad conduct, were not to be allowed to enter even if they came (to seek refuge).[1]

[1] I. S. C. C., pp. 424 and 425 (D).

References to Sanscrit Literature.

In one of the inscriptions, at one of the corners of the lake,[1] we have a reference to a king of Kashmir in a passage with a double meaning:—"The king (Yaçovarman), with his fine army (Pravarasena), having explained to all the established institution (bridge) of religion, has outdone the other Pravarasena (the king of Kashmir), who constructed only an ordinary bridge (who composed a Prakrit poem Setu-vandha)." Prof. Keith[2] says that the Setu-vandha was written indirectly to celebrate the building of a bridge across the Jhelum by king Pravarasena of Kashmir. From the introduction to the Râjatarangini[3] we learn that this was probably Pravarasena II of the 6th century who founded Srinagara. The poem Setu-vandha has been sometimes attributed to Kâlidâsa himself. Stanzas 15 and 16 (p. 457, I.S.C.C.) contain very valuable literary references. The king here is being compared to a Pârada (a Jaina saviour or Tirthankara?) whose Kalyâna (salutary influence) is never missing (on the other hand the Kalyâna is one of the lost books of the Jains[4]),

[1] I.S.C.C., p. 434, Stanza 7.

[2] Keith, Classical Sanscrit Literature.

[3] Stein, Rajatarangini, p. 66 and III, 129 n. There is also a Pravarasena of the Vâkâṭaka dynasty of the Deccan.

[4] P. 467, note 3, by Barth. As no author of the name of Pārada is known, this passage may mean "gold whose lustre is never dimmed,"

a Gunâdhya who does not like Prâkrit (which is a vulgar language compared to Sanscrit), a Viçâlâkṣa who is opposed to Nîti (the subtleties of political craft), a Çura who has humiliated Bhimaka (or a hero stronger than a Bhîma). Gunâdhya is the author of the Brihat-kathā (the 'great story') in Prâkrit. This work has been lost and survives only in the much later Sanscrit version of Somadeva of Kashmir.[1] Viçâlâkṣha is mentioned as a writer on Nîti in the Daçakumâracarita (*c.* 6th century A. D.) and as one who did not succeed in carrying out his own precepts. Çura is a Buddhist poet and is the author of the Jâtakamâla. Very little about him seems to be known. Bhimaka is now known only by some selections from his poetry in Sanscrit anthologies.

In the 16th stanza (p. 457) we have a reference to the poet Mayūra :—"The sun has been satisfied with the eulogy in verse by Mayūra (a peacock or the poet of that name), but the king, to rival the sun, has his feet worshipped by a host of swans (or great princes) every day." Mayūra was the father-in-law of Bâna, the court poet of Harṣa, and was the author of the Surya-Çataka (hundred stanzas in praise of the sun).

Barth is surprised that the writer of the inscription, who takes such a keen delight in

[1] Kathâ-sarit-sâgara.

playing on words, forgets to mention Bâna who is a past master in this art. But for a Kambuja scholar of the 9th century the acquaintance with Sanscrit literature shown here is very creditable. Some of the authors mentioned here are at present only obscure names in India, but they must have been popular in their times for their fame to have reached Indo-China at this period.

In the 19th stanza (I. S. C. C., p. 478) we hear of a naval victory won by the king. "In a (maritime) expedition for victory, thousands of ships, stretching on all sides on the great sea, white with their sails (or white and black), have been dispersed by him, as in the days of yore, myriads of petals of the lotus of Brahmâ were scattered by Madhu and Kaiṭabha."

In stanza 26 on p. 479 there is another reference to Gunâdhya the author of Brihat-Kathâ:— "What to say of people who had only good qualities, he knew to put again in his proper place a Gunâdhya[1] (the author of that name or a man of good qualities) whom he had blamed before (in the case of the author for having used Prâkrit, and in the case of the person of good qualities for having some bad qualities too). Even poison can be a fine decoration when

[1] For the story of Gunâdhya and how he retired to the forest after having lost the wager, see Lacote's Essay on Gunâdhya and the Brihat-kathâ.

used by Hara—what to say of the moon (with her spots)."

In stanza I, p. 483, Vātsyāyana, the author of the Kâmasutra, is mentioned :—"Simply by his (*i. e.*, the king's) graceful movements, rivaling with theirs, beautiful women have mastered the principles of the art of love as taught by Vātsyāyana and others." In stanza 13, p. 485, the king is said to be the author of a commentary on the Mahābhāshya of Pâtanjali[1] :—"The Bhâshya, every word of which troubled the grammarians, as if it were poison from the mouth of the king of snakes (this is an allusion to the tradition that Pâtanjali was an incarnation of Çeṣa-Nâga), on account of his (the king's) nectar-like commentary, issuing from his auspicious mouth, has again become usable for educational purposes."

In stanza 21, p. 505, we have a reference to the newly constructed capital :—"He, who defended Kambupuri (the capital of Kambuja), impregnable (Ayodhyâ), of terrifying aspect (Vibhishaṇa), with the aid of good counsellors (with Sumantra as his friend), and with prosperity (Sitâ) as its ornament, like the descendant of Raghu (*i. e.*, like Râma who reigned over Ayodhyâ with Sumantra as his friend, Sitâ as ornament and Vibhishaṇa as his guest)."

[1] This work is itself a commentary on Paṇini's grammar.

Allusions to Mahâbhârata and the Harivaṃça are frequent. The author of these inscriptions must have been very learned in classical Sanscrit literature, and it is a great pity that, instead of employing all the resources of his art for eulogising the king, he has not given us something more substantial.

The 6th Hindu inscription engraved in North Indian characters [1] is not a royal decree. It gives the genealogy and the pious works of Muni Çivaçakti who, as we have already seen (p. 83), belonged to a matriarchal family related to the queen of Jayavarman II.

A Buddhist Inscription.

Now we come to the Buddhist inscription, discovered in the temple of Tep Pranam,[2] quite close to the royal palace of Angkor Thom. It is also engraved in North Indian characters and is of the same series of royal inscriptions as those at the four corners of the lake Thnal Baray. But while the latter commemorate the foundation by Yaçovarman of a Hindu monastery, the Tep Pranam inscription deals with the foundation by the same monarch at the same time of a Buddhist monastery.

[1] I. S. C. C., p. 533.

[2] Ed. by M. Coedes, Journal Asiatique, March-April 1908, pp. 10-17.

After the invocation to Çiva in the first two stanzas (which are the same as in the Thnal Baray series), here we have in the third stanza an invocation to Buddha. "He, who, after having himself comprehended, has made the three worlds understand the means of deliverance from the bonds of this life. Salutation to him, who has conferred the blessing of Nirvana, the Buddha of compassionate heart, whose feet are to be adored." Then follow 15 stanzas containing the genealogy of the king exactly in the same words as in the digraphic inscriptions and in the Thnal Baray series. But the *praçasti* or eulogy which comes next (and consists of 28 stanzas) is quite original. In writing eulogies the pandits of Kambuja are inexhaustible. The 46th stanza would suffice as an example :— "What of the victory of Hari won over the enemy of Aniruddha[1] by revolving his cakra (disc)! He (the king) without revolving his disc has triumphed over a hundred indomitable (aniruddha) foes." The next (47th) stanza states :—"King Yaçovarman, king of kings, the lord of the land of Kambu, has built this Saugatâçrama (Buddhist monastery) for the well-being of the Buddhists." Then follows the çâsana laying down the regulations to be observed by the abbot, who has the same title

[1] Aniruddha is Kṛiṣṇa's grandson. Kṛiṣṇa liberated him while he was a prisoner in the hands of Bâṇa.

of Kulâdhyakṣa here as in the Hindu inscription. The order of precedence here (stanzas 51 to 60) is almost the same as in the Thnal Baray series :—first the king, then the Brahmans, and after them princes, ministers, generals, etc. The only point of difference is to be found in the 57th stanza :—"A little less than a Brahman possessed of learning—the âcârya, versed in Buddhistic lore or grammar, is to be honoured, and in preference he who excels in both." In the Thnal Baray series the corresponding stanza dealt with the âcârya of the Çaivas and of the Pâçupatas. Indeed one is struck with the extremely small amount of difference between the Buddhist inscriptions and the preceding Hindu ones. Even the funeral offerings to the departed souls are not omitted here (stanza 63). Stanzas 67-72 are, however, distinctly Buddhist, but unfortunately the corresponding stanzas of the Thnal Baray series have been effaced. "On the 14th of the bright fortnight of Nabhasya (August-September), there should be a festival, offerings should be given as is prescribed in the Buddhaçâstras. On this day, and also at the full moon of the month of Tapasya (February-March), those who have bathed in the tirtha known as the Yaçodhara lake are to be feasted. The yatis who have conquered the senses, who observe the three sandhyâs, who are devoted to studies and are

of good conduct, who are free from the duties of householders, having no other shelter in the rainy season, living on one meal per day, fulfilling the duties of their religion, should be lodged in the Saugatâçrama." Then follows the account of the daily doles to be given to the bhikṣus and yatis who are devoted to studies :—"Four twig tooth-brushes, eight betelnuts, half an âdhaka of rice and sixty leaves of betel, one handful of dipikâ (digestive grain), and a faggot of wood—all this should be given to an âcârya," To the aged Yatis, all these things, in a somewhat smaller quantity, are to be given, and to the younger yatis in still smaller quantities. Instead of the two kinds of ashes, the receptacle for ashes, etc., which are to be presented to âcâryas in the Çaiva âçrama, here in the Buddhist monastery the âcâryas and aged bhikṣus should have an incense vase, a jar, and a receptacle for fire per head to be carefully used for a period of four months. Among the sacred vessels here (stanza 94) we have the almsbowl in the place of the vase for ashes of the Çaiva âçrama (stanza 15, p. 431, I. S. C. C.). It is curious that the cakra is mentioned here among them. It may be the dharma-cakra, the wheel of life. Then the slaves, male and female, who are to serve turn by turn (stanzas 95-100), are enumerated [1] :—"Two scribes, two

[1] The corresponding stanzas of the Thnal Baray series are missing.

custodians of the royal hut, two in charge of books, two providers of the betel leaf, two water-carriers, six preparers of leaves (palm leaves for writing ?), four torch-bearers, servants for cooking vegetables, etc., two supervisors for these, and eight to prepare food, twelve female slaves for cooking rice—this would make a total of fifty." For the learned adhyâpaka (the professor of the monastery) there are three special slaves put at his disposal ; nine slaves, one female slave, two razors, five garments, two needles, and ten agriculturists are for the service of the kulapati (the abbot ?). "If the kulâdhipa (same as kulapati ?) does not follow this çâsana, he will be punished without mercy by the king, and will be handed over to the tapasvins (ascetics)." Finally "those who would make this âçrama flourish would dwell with their relations in the sinless, excellent abode of the lord of the gods, where there is no trouble, as long as the sun and moon shine on the earth."

Angkor Thom or Yaçodharapura.

Let us now turn to the greatest achievement of Yaçovarman—the building of his capital Yaçodharapura (or Kambupuri). The Sdok Kak Thom inscription[1] states :—"Then His Majesty

[1] Finot, Notes d'Epigraphie, B.E.F.E.O., t. xv, II, p. 89.

Parama-Çivaloka (the posthumous name of Yaçovarman) founded the city of Yaçodharapura, and brought the Jagat ta râja (the Royal God) out of Hariharâlaya to be placed in this capital. Then His Majesty erected the Central Mount (Vnam Kantal in Khmer). The lord of Çivâçrama (Vâmaçiva, who was the tutor of Yaçovarman in his youth) consecrated the holy Linga (*i.e.*, the Royal God) in the middle (*i.e.*, inside the Central Mount). Having accomplished this with the aid of royal corvées, the lord of Çivâçrama informed the king of it."

Yaçodharapura is now known as Angkor Thom and the Central Mount (Yaçodhara-giri) is the great central tower of the Bayon. According to Aymonier, the Çivâçrama, of which we hear so much in the digraphic inscriptions was the Bayon itself. From the Sdok Kak Thom inscription it seems that the Çivâçrama was begun in the reign of Yaçovarman's father by the two priests of the Royal God—Çivasoma and Vâmaçiva. It must have been then finished early in the reign of Yaçovarman. Probably the capital city was constructed in the following order :— first the temple of Bayon (or the Çivâçrama), without its great central tower, next the moats, ramparts, avenues, and gates of the city (and perhaps the palace), which received the name of Yaçodharapura, and finally the wonderful tower

of the Bayon exactly in the centre of the rectangular city.[1]

I shall try now to describe very briefly the magnificent ruins of the greatest city of Indo-China. A moat, 330 ft. broad, encircled the capital which had for its second line of defence a high wall of limonite. The city is a square each side of which is a little more than two miles. According to Groslier,[2] the habitations of the common people were for the greater part outside the moat—the interior being reserved for the great temples and monasteries, the seat of the administration, and the mansions of the aristocracy. Very few cities in the whole world, in the 9th century A.D., could have rivalled Angkor in size and grandeur. Exactly in the centre of the great square rises the grand temple of the Bayon, the purest specimen of Khmer architecture. To the north of this edifice is a sort of vast forum round which are grouped other buildings. Three avenues lead from the city gates to the Bayon, and two others (there are 5 gates, two on the eastern side of the square, and one on each of the other sides) to the forum.[3] The structures, which face the forum, are (from left to right) the Bayon, the Bapuon (built later), the Phimeanakas

[1] Aymonier, Histoire de l'Ancien Cambodge, 1920, p. 65.
[2] Groslier, Angkor, pp. 35-36.
[3] J. Commaille, Aux Ruines d'Angkor, p. 208.

(Vimânâkâça—the sky-tower in the middle of what was the royal palace) with a richly adorned terrace overlooking the forum, then what is now known as the 'terrace of the leper king' with its sculptured representations of royal courts, Tep Pranam (the Buddhist monastery which we have already discussed), the group of Prah Pithou which probably (according to Aymonier) was a religious seminary or college, the so-called royal magazines, and the Buddhist terrace.

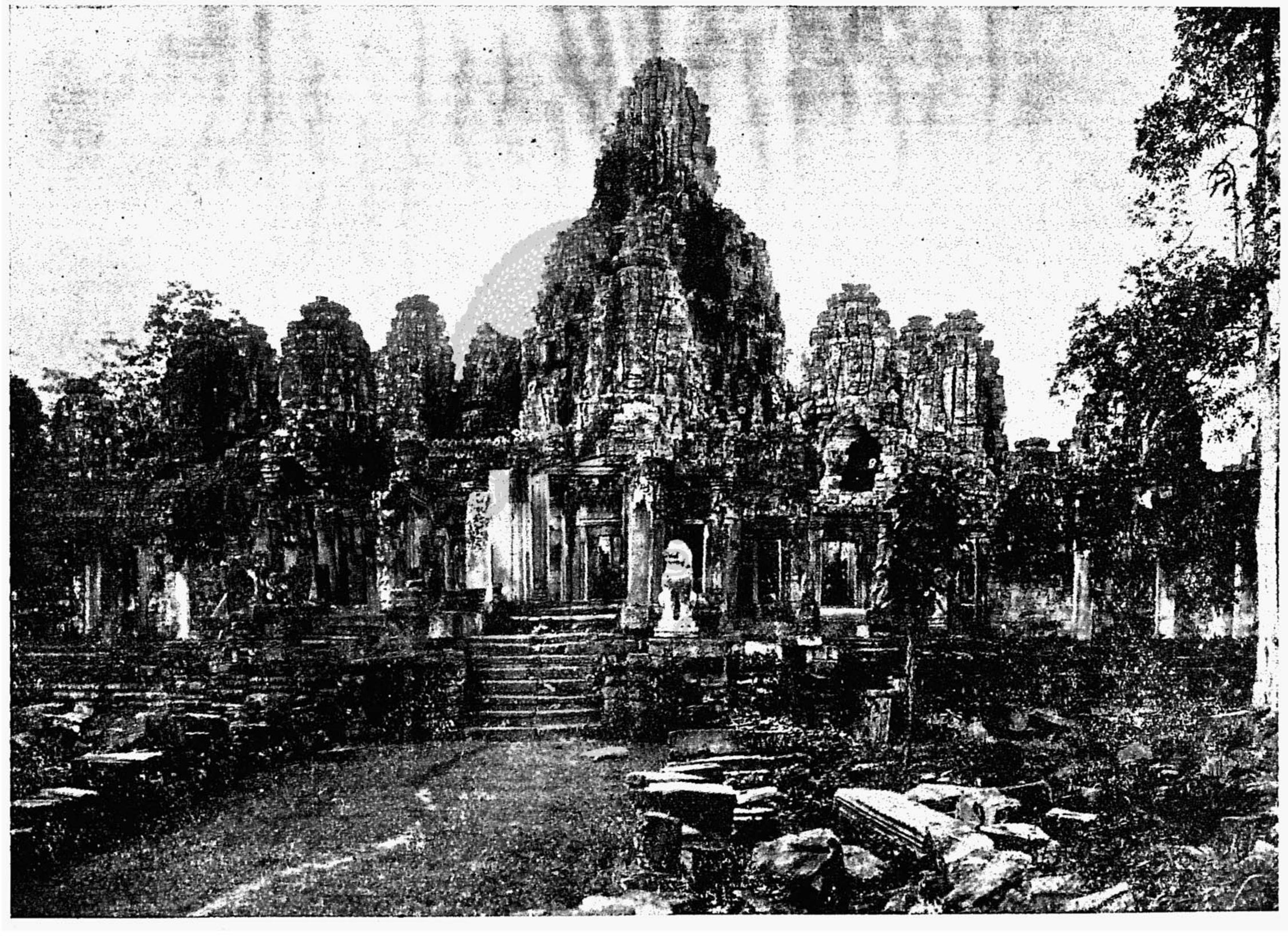
On both sides of the avenues, round the tanks, near the temples—in short throughout the area within the city ramparts, enormous quantities of fragments of bricks, tiles, and pottery testify to the density of the urban population in the palmy days of Kambuja. Kambupuri is now a complete ruin, and this is due to the vandalism of its conquerors and the rank tropical vegetation.

The city gates are noble structures with guard-rooms on each side. Three-headed elephants, which have almost disappeared now, seem to support on their backs the towers above the entrances. Five avenues, 100 ft. in width and nearly a mile in length, lead from the gates to the heart of the city. One gate is still called the gate of victory and the other the gate of death. A large number of tanks of various sizes with masonry embankments are to be found within the city walls. The deeper and the larger

ones were probably the sources of the water supply of the city.

Bayon—the Çiva Temple.

The Bayon, in the centre, is the grandest building of the city. It is of the form of a pyramid with three stages crowned by high towers. A rectangular gallery constitutes the first stage. Its walls are covered with bas-reliefs. Along the whole length of the gallery there is an uncovered platform with elegant railings. In front of the principal entrance, there is an extensive platform with two tanks on each side. Between the gallery of the first stage and that of the second stage, there is an open space 60 ft. in width, and, at the two corners on the eastern side (which is the front), there are two detached small buildings which are popularly called libraries. As we shall see later on such buildings were really libraries. The second gallery, higher up, is not on the same level. In the centre the level is higher than on the two wings. Then this gallery has two verandahs, one overlooking the first gallery, the other facing the interior. The wall is covered with bas-reliefs. Within the second gallery there is a third gallery, which is not rectangular but redan-shaped, and from its middle rises the third stage crowned by the



THE BAYON (a Çiva temple)

central tower which is badly damaged but is still standing. From its height of 150 feet it looks down on the ruins of forty other towers of smaller dimensions which surround it on all sides. And all the towers have four human faces on the four sides chiselled with consummate art. They represent Çiva, serene in yoga, with a third eye in the middle of the forehead. The locks of the god are very finely carved and from the account of Cheou Ta-Kouan it seems that they were gilt at that time. Even on the most inaccessible parts there is exquisite decorative art. The dark shrine under the tower is now empty. There is a big hole which treasure-hunters have dug in the centre.

Such is the Bayon—the *chef d'œnvre* of Khmer architecture. Though smaller than Angkor Vat it is more artistically designed, and the decorative work here is of finer workmanship. But Angkor Vat is better preserved and therefore better known to the outside world.

The bas-reliefs show somewhere battle scenes, the chiefs mounted on elephants with bows in their hands, the common soldiers with short lances and shields, and some with cords tied round their chests. Another scene shows us bearded Brahmans with their sacred threads seated under shady trees. Then there are wrestling matches, musicians with elegant harps, and jugglers showing acrobatic feats. In another

the king is seated in a balcony, dressed only in a dhoti, with a necklace as the sole ornament. There are courtiers all round him, and, under the balcony, stags, bulls, a rhinoceros, a hare, etc., are led in procession by men. Funereal urns carried with great ceremony, princesses in palanquins, covered chariots drawn by oxen, fishing scenes, naval fights, elephants bringing on their backs chests full of booty from conquered countries or tribute from dependencies, Çiva burning with the fire of his eyes the god of love, etc., are represented in the reliefs.

A very recent discovery at the Bayon has brought to light a series of pediments, on the porches of the second gallery, concealed (perhaps deliberately) by additions to the third stage, in which is represented Avalokiteçvara, standing on a lotus, with the figure of Amitâbha in his crest, holding in his hands the lotus, the book, the rosary and the glass, and surrounded by flying apsarâs. M. Finot[1] is now of the opinion that the Bayon may originally have been a Mahayâna Buddhist temple dedicated to the Bodhisattva Avalokiteçvara, the incarnation of mercy.

Leaving the Bayon, to the north-west of it is the Royal Terrace about 1,200 ft. in length and 13 ft. in height. It is probably the platform from which the aristocracy might have watched

[1] Etudes Asiatiques, t. i, pp. 246-247.

public spectacles in the amphitheatre below.[1] The reliefs on the front of the terrace are the most artistic in Kambuja. The elephants, nearly of life-size, are lifelike too.

Behind the terrace is the site of the palace now totally demolished. The only portion still standing is a pyramid-shaped temple Phimeanakas (Viman-akas—the sky-tower) in the court-yard of the palace. There was probably a wooden tower of magnificent design crowning the shrine which, according to an inscription, is a temple of Viṣṇu. Popular tradition however describes it as the royal bedchamber, where the Nâgi ancestress used to appear every night.

Further to the north is the terrace of the leper king. It is higher than the Royal Terrace and is of the shape of a cross. Kings, queens, nymphs, etc., are sculptured on the front. On the terrace is to be found the well-known statue of the leper king (Sdach Komlong),—a nude figure with a fine moustache. Tradition says that the founder of Angkor Thom died of leprosy. Already in the 13th century Cheou Ta-Kouan, who came with the Chinese ambassador, had heard of the leper king. People in the neighbourhood still show, in a small valley to the north of the capital, the retreat where the king had withdrawn when afflicted with the dreadful

[1] According to the inscriptions the king himself seems to have taken part in the feats of prowess in the public arena.

malady, and where he was cremated.[1] However that may be, the name Yaçovarman was never adopted by any of his successors. An old Khmer legend ascribes this tragic end of the king to the curse of a rişi. He must have died after a reign of 20 years, for the inscription of Phimeanakas, dated 910 A.D., mentions him as if he were recently dead.

[1] Brigandet, in his Legend of the Burmese Buddha, p. 11, relates an Indian tradition :—" There was a king of Benares who, being afflicted with leprosy, quitted his capital and retired into a forest to the north of his capital.

CHAPTER VII.

The Rise of Buddhism.

Harṣavarman, the elder son of Yaçovarman, and Içânavarman II, the younger son, ascended the throne at Yaçodharapura (Angkor Thom) one after the other on their father's death. We do not know when the first ceased to rule and was succeeded by his second brother. Their posthumous names were Rudraloka and Paramarudraloka respectively, and their âcârya (the priest of the Royal God) was Kumârasvâmî, the nephew of Çivâçrama. The inscription of Phimeanakas (Vimânâkâça), dated 832 ç.e. (910 A.D.), should probably be put early in the reign of Harṣavarman. It is a Vaiṣṇava inscription and in the second stanza[1] we get :—"I salute Viṣṇu, who is to be meditated upon, on whose breast rests Lakṣmî, and in whose arms the earth, and on the lotus springing from whose navel dwells for ever Brahma. . . . " Then we have :— "There was a king of kings, Çrî Yaçovarman, whose orders were borne on their heads by innumerable kings, and who was mighty as Indra or Upendra (Viṣṇu). . . His glory, giving greater

[1] I. S. C. C., p. 549.

delight than the rays of the autumn moon, is sung even now by people in their games, on their beds, and in their travels. Of this king of kings there was a minister, comparable to the minister of Indra, of the name of Çrî Satyâçraya, versed in the horâçâstra (an astronomical work ascribed to a certain Satya). This (minister) had obtained, as reward for his fidelity to his lord, a vessel made of cocoanut-shell, a pitcher, a cup, a pearl, and prosperity with wealth as its girdle and the white umbrella as its smile. By him with faith has been erected here the (image) of the Lord Mâdhava (Kṛṣṇa), with the title of Trailokyanâtha (Lord of the three worlds), resplendent in his glory on this earth."

Harṣavarman I and Içânavarman II.

The inscription of Vat Chacret, the Khmer portion of which gives the date 834 ç.e., gives the name of Harṣavarman.[1] "There was a king of kings . . named Çrî Harṣavarman, son of Çrî Yaçovarman ; rendered happy by a new prosperity, he shone like Çrînivâsa (Kṛṣṇa). This sovereign of Kambuja, whose qualities were sung by the whole world, has given to the Lord (the god) of Adrîvyâdhapura (the town of the hunters of the mountain) six beautiful female[2] slaves for (service in the temple) every fortnight."

[1] I. S. C. C., p. 554. [2] *Cf.* the devadâsis of South Indian temples.

The Sanscrit inscription of Vat Thipdei [1] (Adhipati) contains the eulogy of the kings Yaçovarman, Harṣavarman and Içânavarman (II), and then mentions the pious foundations of Çikhâçiva, the minister of Içânavarman.

The Khmer inscription of Phnom Preah Vihar [2] speaks of Çrî Vîralakṣmî, the queen of the king Sûryavarman I, as a princess of the royal line of Harṣavarman, who has gone to Rudraloka, and Içânavarman, who had gone to Paramarudraloka. The inscription speaks of families "who kept the annals of the descendants of Kambu, and who preserved the annals describing the glory of the rulers of the earth from Çrutavarman (the semi-legendary founder of the Solar dynasty of Kambuja) to Suryavarman I." The copies of these annals were apparently kept in the temples of Çrî Çikharîçvara and Çrî Vriddheçvara.

Another Khmer inscription of Tuol Pei,[3] dated 844 ç.e. (922 A.D.), gives the order of a king (whose name is not given but who must be Içânavarman II) addressed to a noble Mratân Çrî Marendrârimathana—asking him to procure from Vap Cina (a Chinese gentleman ?) slaves, gold, silver, etc., apparently for a temple.

Aymonier would assign to the sons of Yaçovarman the construction of the temple of Banteai

[1] Aymonier, Le Cambodge, t. ii, p. 379.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 209.
[3] Aymonier, Le Cambodge, t. i, p. 443.

Kedei, to the east of Angkor Thom, with a deep tank in front which has not yet dried up. The neighbouring temple of Ta Prom has also got the same features such as towers with the four sides shaped as human faces, concentric galleries, and a sanctuary of the form of a cross. Both seem to be Buddhist shrines and may be ascribed to the same period.[1]

Jayavarman IV.

The next king was Jayavarman IV, the husband of Yaçovarman's sister. Perhaps he was an usurper as, during the reign of his nephew Içânavarman II, we find him as the adhipati (Viceroy) of Koh Ker, the place to which he (Jayavarman) removed the capital on ascending, the throne in 850 ç.e. The Koh Ker inscription, which is dated 843 ç.e., is badly damaged, but the third stanza [2] seems to indicate that Jayavarman was associated in royal powers conjointly with his predecessor (his nephew Içânavarman II).

The brief Sanscrit inscription of Prasat Neang Khman[3] (the tower of the black lady) gives the date 850 ç.e. (928 A.D.) for the accession of Jayavarman IV. The Sdok Kak Thom inscription states [4] :—"The king Paramaçivapada

[1] Aymonier, Histoire de l'Ancient Cambodge (1920), pp. 108-09.
[2] Barth's note, p. 560, I. S. C. C.
[3] Aymonier, Le Cambodge, t. i, p. 183.
[4] Finot, Notes d' Epigraphile, B. E. F. E. O., t. xv, II, p. 90.

(the posthumous name of Jayavarman IV) left the city of Yaçodharapura (Angkor Thom), and went to reign at Koh Ker (Chok Gargyar) and he took with him the Jagat ta Râja (the Royal God). The members of the family(of the hereditary priest of the Royal God) served the divinity as before, and the venerable Içânamûrti, grand nephew of Çivâçrama, the high priest (âcârya), on account of being the head of the family, established himself at Koh Ker."

Koh Ker.

Why Angkor Thom was deserted we do not know. If the new king was really an usurper, he would perhaps prefer to rule at his old place, Koh Ker, of which he was the governor. Koh Ker is about 40 leagues north of Angkor and is situated in a wild barren country, The ruins of the new capital still show the usual large artificial lake and a principal temple among a dozen secondary temples. The city is not oriented as usual. What should have been the North-South axis is inclined to the West at an angle of 20°. Aymonier tries to explain this unusual feature by drawing attention to three huge monoliths, shaped into lingas, facing the ruins. These rocks were taken as natural lingas, a high shrine was built to shelter them, and the city was probably planned to face them.

On the lintel of the tower of the principal temple Viṣṇu is represented in his Nrisiṃha (man-lion) incarnation killing Hiranyakaçipu (the demon king). There is also the figure of Viṣṇu in relief on the pediment of the main gate of the temple. The fragments of a colossal statue (about 16 ft. in height), representing a king (perhaps Jayavarman IV), have also been found within the temple precincts. Traces of wooden statues of the Buddha have also been discovered.[1]

Thirty-five Khmer inscriptions, badly damaged, have been found on a petty monument north-east of the great tank. These, as far as they can be deciphered, contain interminable lists of slaves dedicated to temples. "Tai (female servant), tai rat, tai pau, si (male servant), si rat, si pau" ... thus goes on the list (rat and pau mean two classes of servants), and there are about 4,000 such entries.

Harṣavarman II.

The inscription of Prasat Pra Dak mentions Jayavarman IV as the "redoubtable opponent of the hostile kings such as the ruler of Champa." He was succeeded by his younger son Harṣavarman II in 864 ç.e. (942 A. D.) according to the

[1] Aymonier, Le Cambodge, t. i, p. 397 *et seq.*

inscription of Kedei Char.[1] The noble Kavindrârimathana, who, as we shall see, plays an important rôle in the next reign, is already mentioned in this inscription. The new ruler also resided at Koh Ker. He is mentioned by his posthumous name of Brahmaloka in the Khmer inscription of Rolom Tim[2] in connection with a law-suit :— "In the time of the king, who has gone to Brahmaloka, a certain person, Vap Rau, had borrowed a buffalo from Sten (Brahman ?) of Vnam Cren (a temple ?). In order to be exempted from the royal corvée he gave the buffalo to Vap Nos— the head of the collectors of the paddy tax. In exchange for the buffalo, Vap Rau gave a slave, the tai Kan Hyan (the "shell") to Sten of Vnam Çren, who dedicated her to service in the temple of Çivapattan. In a short time this woman took to flight. Then Sten asked Vap Rau to replace her. At first he consented and promised to give the tai Kampit (the 'knife') to replace Kan Hyan in the service of the temple. But afterwards he refused to hand her over to Sten. He was tried and found guilty. The tai Kampit was handed over to Sten, who employed her in the service of God—Judge—The Kamsten An Çri Bhupativarman ; Assistants—the Lon Pitrânandana, the Lon I, the Lon Anandana, the Lon Panditâcârya ; witnesses—the Mratan

[1] *Ibid*, p. 372.

[2] Aymonier Le Cambodge, t. i, pp. 246-247.

Çri Dharaṇîndrapakalpa, the Sten An..... the 'usher' of the sacred court of Justice."

Harṣavarman II reigned only two years and was succeeded by his elder brother Râjendravarman in 866 ç.e.(944 A. D.). The old Khmer story of Prince Baksei (Skt. paksi bird) Chan Krang (whom the bird covered) is supposed by Aymonier [1] to refer to this prince. According to the story, he had to fly from the wrath of his brother, the king, whom, according to a prophecy, he was to replace. He had to hide himself in a rock behind the temple of Phnom Baset. It was probably after a bloody fratricidal struggle that Râjendravarman ascended the throne, and in order to get away from a place associated with his brother, he abandoned Koh Ker and returned to Yaçodharapura (Angkor Thom).

Râjendravarman returns to Angkor.

The record of the high priests (the Sdok Kak Thom inscription) states :—"Then H. M. Çivaloka (the posthumous name of Rajendravarman) went to reign in the city of Yaçodharapura and took with him the Royal God. The members of family (of the High Priests) served the deity as before. The Sten an Atmaçiva, as the head of the family, was the priest of the Royal God and âcâryahoma."

[1] Le Cambodge, t. i, p. 219.

Before we proceed to the long Sanscrit inscriptions of this reign, we may as well examine some of the Khmer inscriptions, which, though of a humbler character, discuss rights of property, law suits, etc. Several inscriptions of Râjendravarman record royal decisions regarding the proper boundaries of estates belonging to temples or private individuals. The (Khmer) inscription of Neak Ta Charek [1] is a copy of a judgment of a law court:—"In 884 ç.e. (962 A. D.) a royal order from His Majesty commanded (the court), to go and try the case of the Mratan (a title of nobility) Kurun Virabhaktigarjita, lord of the territory of Virapura, who had sent (some of his followers) to destroy the field boundaries, and to reap the rice harvest of the plot of land belonging to Vâp (father) Nâc. Now the Mratan Çri Virendravarman and the Mratan Nripendrârimathana had previously purchased the land from Vâp Nâc, and had respectfully asked from His Majesty a royal order of donation, together with the fixing of boundaries, in favour of Vâp Cû and his family—(sole proprietors) in the future. It was of this plot of land, given by royal sanction that the Mratan Kurun has destroyed the boundaries and reaped the rice harvest. The case being tried, the Mratan

[1] Le Cambodge, t. i, pp. 384-5.

Kurun was found guilty, and it was discovered that he had done this at the instigation of Vâp Amrita. Therefore the tribunal has sentenced the Mratan Kurun to a fine of 10 [1]...of gold. Vâp Çri, his younger brother, who ordered the reaping of the rice harvest, has been condemned to be flogged 102 times on the back. Vâp Amrita is also to be flogged the same number of times. The land is to be restored to Vâp Cu and his family. The boundaries are fixed to the east, west, north and south." Another inscription (Trepeang Sambot [2]) tells us of a petition of some Brahmans to Râjendravarman, in the year of his accession, reminding His Majesty that the slaves, elephants, cows, etc. (attached to a certain temple) constituted an old royal gift in the past. The royal answer to the petition was a royal order to two Kamsten (princes or ministers) that they should maintain the inviolability of the sacred property, setting aside all claims, judicial or otherwise, and preventing alienation.

The Sanscrit inscription of Baksei Chamkron,[3] as we have already seen in Chapter II, gives a long genealogy going back several centuries. It is dated 869 ç.e., and commemorates the consecration of a golden Parameçvara. After the

[1] The word is missing here.

[2] Aymonier, Le Cambodge, t. i, pp. 165-6.

[3] Ed. by M. Coedes, Journ. Asiatique, May-June, 1909.

invocation to Çiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmâ, Çiva-Viṣṇu (Hari-Hara), Çiva-Devî, Devî, Vâgîçvarî (Sarasvati), Gangâ, and Lakṣmi, there is an invocation to Kambu Svayambhuva and his wife the apsarâ Merā, the mythical ancestors of the Kambujas. Gauri is invoked when, with beads of perspiration on her limbs, she shuts her eyes with fear at the time when Çiva's wrath burns the god of love. Vâgîçvarî (the goddess of learning) is addressed as rising from the lake of the heart (Mânasa Sarovara) of sages. The Ganges is described as falling from heaven, glistening, with myriads of stars flashing on the crests of her waves. The reference to Kambu and Merā have already been discussed.

Besides its valuable genealogy the inscription is also interesting from the standpoint of archaeology. The immediate ancestors of Râjendravarman (beginning with Indravarman) are each honoured with a panegyric, in which the pious foundations of each are mentioned thus confirming what we know from other sources.

The King's Buddhist Minister.

The inscription of Bat Cum,[1] which belongs also to this reign, is not half-heartedly Buddhist as the Tap Prenam inscription of Yaçovarman. It does not begin with an invocation to Çiva, as

[1] Ed. by M. Coedes, Journ. Asiatique, September-October, 1908.

the other, but, though quite orthodox in tone, it could not afford to ignore, as we shall see, the sister religion which was still dominant. It really consists of three different Sanscrit inscriptions, each written by a different poet, whose names have been recorded (which is quite an unusual feature). The theme however of the three inscriptions is the same. After the invocation to Buddha and other Buddhist divinities, there is an eulogy of the king and a mention of the buildings constructed by him. Then follows the eulogy of his Buddhist minister Kavîndrârimathana and an enumeration of his works of piety.

The first inscription of Bat Cum is the composition of Indrapandita :—" May (the Buddha[1]) be triumphant, he who has devoted himself to the good of others and has acquired omniscience and the peace supreme and blissful. Victory to Lokeçvara (Avalokiteçvara), born for the good of the world, he who has shown the four noble truths and, establishing the Dharma on a very firm footing, has lent it the lustre of his four arms. The invincible Vajrapâni, who has vanquished the hostile demon, and wields the flaming thunderbolt, and is skilled in destroying the heap of obstacles raised by the stream of sins committed by the proud Dânavas and Kali... . There was a king of the lunar race, whose footstool

[1] The first stanza is partially effaced,

shone with star-like gems culled from all the mines of the world, the king Çri Râjendravarman (crowned) in 866 ç.e., from whose body gleamed radiance.....[1] He restored the city of Yaçodhara-pura, which had remained empty for a long time, and made it, as Kuça did for Ayodhyâ, superb like Indra's abode on this earth with houses decked with gold and towers adorned with gems. On the mount erected by him, like the peak of Meru, in the middle of the Yaçodhara lake covered with palaces and houses adorned with gems, he consecrated a Virinca (Brahmâ), a Devi, an Içа (Çiva), a Çârngî (Viṣṇu), and a Çivalinga. This king had a servant, wise, pious, and a great favourite of his, who bore the significant name of Kavîndrârimathana (he who crushes the enemies of the king of the wise). This (servant), who showed no pride on account of the success of his policy, prided himself on the distinctions which he had obtained from the king, such as a belt, a palanquin, a vessel of cocoanut shell, ear-rings, etc. He was the foremost of those distinguished for piety, on account of his own piety, the best of artists, on account of skill in art, the richest among the rich, on account of his wealth, the wisest among the intelligent, on account of his knowledge of human (mind)..... In 875 ç.e. this wise and eminent Buddhist set up here with devotion a great image of Buddha, a

[1] Stanza xiii, p. 227.

Divyadevi (Prajñâpâramitâ), together with a Vajrapâni, in the midst of a great many palaces and houses—as if in his own excellent heart. In 868 ç.e. he erected at Jayantadeça a statue of Jina (the Buddha), in 872 ç.e. at Kutiçvara a Lokanâtha and two Devis. With the exception of the excellent Brahman, the hotar, no one else should bathe here, in the pure transparent water coming down from the sacred peak of Mount Mahendra (which is collected) in the auspicious trench here, which though small in size confers great merit." Then follows an injunction that elephants should not be allowed even to approach this holy place lest they should crush the embankment. In the last couplet we have :—"The meritorious work of others should be preserved as well as the meritorious work of one's own." Then follows a Khmer sentence that the Mratan Çri Indrapandita has written these lines.

The first stanza of the second inscription[1] is specially interesting as the poet Râmabhâgavata gives here a definition of Buddhism which he knows is something new and orthodox :—"Let the Buddha give you the Bodhi, by Whom has been taught well the philosophy denying the existence of the individual soul and teaching the cult of the universal soul though (the two teachings seem to be) contradictory." The third stanza

[1] Journ. Asiat., Sept.-Octob., 1908, p. 230.

is addressed to Prajñâpâramitâ :—"May Prajñâ-pâramitâ preserve you from sin, O excellent people, she who, like the full moon, represents the fulness of the omniscience of the Buddha, pure as the rays of the moon." The 21st stanza refers to the king's victorious campaign in Champa :—"His glory extends to all directions flaming like the Last Conflagration and burning the hostile kingdoms like Champa." A contemporary Champa inscription mentions that the golden statue of the Devi of Po Nagar was taken away by "the greedy Kambujas." The 30th stanza refers to the fervent belief of the minister in Buddhism :—"He who acquired the knowledge (attained only) by Yogis by realising the identity of his own with the divine nature of the Buddha."

The third inscription thus addresses the Buddha :—"May the Buddha reign who has destroyed Mâra (Evil) by the asceticism of Samâdhi. Having obtained the imperishable kingdom--the Bodhi (wisdom)—the supreme sovereign rejoices in the splendid palace of Nirvâna." The 33rd stanza (p. 251) states :—"Having no other longing but the Dharma of the Buddha, he (the minister) was the first among the Buddhists; nevertheless he was bound in devotion to this King—the Supreme Lord (or Çiva)."

To Râjendravarman's reign should also be ascribed the inscription of Prâsât Khnâ (Coedes,

Etudes Cambodgiennes, B.E.F.E.O., XI), which corroborates the tradition which still names as libraries the small buildings generally located to the east of a shrine. Found in such a place this inscription states that this library (pustakâçrama) was built by Hiranyaruci.

M. Georges Maspero, in his 'Le Geographie Politique de L'Indo-Chine aux environs de 960 A.D.,' states, on the authority of the chronicle of Yonaka, that the principalities of Sukhodaya, Haribhunjaya, Suvarṇagrâma (all the three were in North Siam), and Alâvirâṣṭra (which lay between Siam and Yunnan) were vassal states of Kambuja at this period. This expansion towards the north-west is stated to have begun in the 9th century.[1]

Jayavarman V.

Râjendravarman was succeeded by his son Jayavarman V in 890 ç.e. (968 A.D.). The inscription of Prea Eynkosey,[2] dated 890 ç.e., mentions both him and his father. The invocation is striking:—"The One (God) spreading Himself in fire, wind, and the sun, and united (again) in the sweet sound of the letters of the Udgitha (OM) (may He protect you)." Then there is a reference to a prince of Aninditapura, of the

[1] Etudes Asiatiques, 1925, t. ii, p. 79 and *seq*.

[2] I.S.C.C., p. 84 *et seq*.

race of Kaundinya (the lunar race), who was a predecessor of Râjendravarman. "This king (Râjendravarman) had a son, who, having established the castes and the açramas (the four stages of a Brahman's life) on a sound footing, delighted the Lord." His name (*i.e.*. of the son of King Râjendravarman) is given in the next stanza, which has been badly damaged, as Jayavarmadeva. "When he (Jayavarman) marches (with his army), the earth with its mountains is disturbed, by the trampling of his troops, like a sea by a tempest.....With the agreeably mixed sounds of the drum beaten dexterously and the clashing of the copper cymbals, with karadis, timilas, vinâs, venus (flute), bells and mridangas, with puravas, panavas (a kind of drum), bheris, kâhalas, and innumerable conches, he struck terror into the heart of the enemy." The 19th stanza (B) gives :—"He (*i.e.*, King Jayavarman) is repeatedly saluted by Brahmans famed for their heroism, of fine tastes, who have dissipated the darkness of sin, who are the essence of the knowledge of the Vedântas, who are devoted to the path laid down by the Smritis, free from passion, without avarice, living examples of the eight perfections (or members) of the Yoga, who have regulated their lives by the path of the sun, who are always drenched in the nectar of meditation, and who are versed in the Vedas and Vedângas." In the 21st and the

following stanzas we have :—"The younger sister of this (king), of far-spread renown, the daughter of King Râjendravarman, Indralakṣmi, the wife of the illustrious Brahman, has erected lovingly the image of her own mother in the year 890 ç.e. The son-in-law of the ruler of the earth, nāmed Râjendravarman,...the brother-in-law of king Çri Jayavarman—the deva Bhatta Divâkara, having set up in the Madhuvana three divinities, consecrated them to Bhadreç-vara. Being provided with a carriage of gold and other precious objects, glittering with wonderful ornaments and jewels, presented with abundant land, silver, copper, gold, cattle, slaves, female slaves, buffaloes, horses and elephants,—and having made Bhadreçvara the sole (possessor) of all those sources of enjoyment, the deva (Divâkara) himself ordered six khârikâs of rice to be given yearly for food to those who came to this place." In the 28th stanza is given the birthplace of the Brahman Divâkara :—"There, where the lovely Kâlindi [1] (flows), where the (land) echoes with the mantras of Ric, Yajus, and Sâm repeated at each savana (tri-sandhyâ) by 36,000 Brahmans, there—where Kriṣṇa, who trampled on the black snake, the destroyer of the Daityas, played in his childhood—there was born this deva, the Bhatta called Divâkara." So the son-in-law of the king of Kambuja was a

[1] The Yamuna (Jumna).

Brahman from Brindâvan in North India, and thus the name Madhuvana, which he gave to his âçrama in Kambuja, was no doubt a reminiscence of the banks of the Jumna in the mother country.

Another Buddhist Minister.

The inscription of Srey (Çri) Santhor,[1] belonging to this reign, is Buddhist, and reveals the rapidly rising importance of Buddhism in the state at this period. Kirtîpandita, the minister of Jayavarman V, had caused it to be engraved. Stanzas 51 to 100 contain the instructions of the king, promulgated by the minister, in support of the moral teaching and the doctrines of Buddhism. The invocation is to the three Kâyas (Dharma Kâya, Sambhoga Kâya and Nirmâna Kâya) of Mahâyâna Buddhism :—"I salute the Dharma Kâya (the body of the law) which, disengaged from the material (world), like the moon freed from eclipse, shining in pure hearts as the moon glitters in clear waters, invests everything with its radiance like the moon. Bow down to the Sambhoga Kâya (the body of bliss), which is for the body of the law as is the sun's orb for the sun, indispensable to the Buddhas for manifesting (to the world) truth in all its variety.

[1] Revue Archeologique, 1883, pp. 182-192. "Une inscription Buddhique du Cambodge" by Senart.

I prostrate myself before the Nirmâna Kâya—the palpable body of the auspicious Buddhas, which gives to the earth all that it desires—the tree which fulfils all desires—(itself) free from all desire."

Then Kirtîpandita's zeal in restoring the sacred books is referred to:—"He lighted again the torch of the true law, the Çâstra Madhyavibhâga and others, which the sins of the world had extinguished. He brought from foreign lands a large number of books on philosophy and treatises like the commentary of the Tattvasaṃgraha so that their study might spread."

Buddhist Literature from North India.

Tattvasaṃgraha is known, says M. Senart, as one of the principal works of the mystic sect. The Madhyavibhâga Çâstra is supposed to be the work either of Vasuvandhu or of his brother Asanga. This confirms the tradition recorded by Târânâtha, the Tibetan author of the history of Buddhism, that the disciples of Vasuvandhu had carried the Mahâyâna doctrines to Koki (*i.e.*, Indo-China).[1]

Our inscription goes on:—"Thanks to the efforts of Kirtîpandita, the law of Buddha reappeared out of the darkness as in the autumn

[1] By the by, Târânâtha mentions that in the 8th century Buddhism was so flourishing in Indo-China that many people came there from Madhya-deça.

the moon comes out again freed from the clouds of the rainy season. In his person, the pure doctrines of emptiness and of subjectivity, eclipsed by the might of false teachings, appeared again like the sun bringing back the light."

All interference with Çaivism is however avoided. The purohita (the Brahman High Priest of the Royal God) should be versed in Buddhist learning and rites. He should bathe on the days of festivals the image of the Buddha and should recite Buddhist prayers.

Side by side with the Bhikṣus we find Panditas mentioned and "sacrificers." We wonder what sort of sacrifices (yajñas) are meant, for Vedic sacrifices with killing of animals were repugnant to Buddhism.

So here we find Jayavarman V in the rôle of Açoka attempting to propagate the moral teachings of Buddha by royal instructions intended for the public.

The inscription of Phnom Banteai Neang[1] (partly Sanscrit, partly Khmer) is engraved round a small bas-relief representing the seated Buddha. It deals with the consecration of a statue of the "Mother of the Buddhas" (Prajñâpâramitâ) by Tribhuvanavajra in 907 ç. e. (985 A.D.), and mentions also the erection of an image of Jagadîçvara by the same person, and an image of Lokeçvara by his brother-in-law Somavajra.

[1] Aymonier, Le Cambodge, t. ii, p. 306 *et seq.*

Kern [1] has translated this inscription and commented on it:—"Success! Welfare! Homage to the Supreme Truth! Which is like the void sky, which, for delivering the three worlds, has assumed the Dharma Kâya (the body of the law), the Sambhoga Kâya (the body of bliss), and the Nirmâna Kâya (the body of transformation by which the Buddhas can appear everywhere to proclaim the truth). Lokeçvara, he who bears on his crest Jina Amitâbha, shines (with a radiance without limit)—whereas the light of the sun and the moon are but limited. Homage to thee, Bhagavati, named Prajñâpâramitâ, in whom those who have become Buddhas have attained omniscience."

The Sanscrit inscription of Lovek,[2] which deals with the pious foundations of a priestly matriarchal family with the curious name of Sapta-deva-kula, states in its 24th stanza that "Prâna (one of the wives of the King Rājendravarman and who belonged to this matriarchal family) distinguished by her lineage, her conduct and her talents, was made, on the death of Râjendravarman, the head of the writers (the chief secretary ?) of the inner (palace) (or the head of the private secretaries) of Jayavarman." Rémusat in his Nouveau Melanges Asiatiques

[1] Verslagen en Mededeelingen de l'Academie d'Amsterdam, IV, III, 1899.

[2] I.S.C.C., p. 129.

quotes Chinese chronicles to the effect that ladies held important posts at the Kambuja court including that of a judge. "The offices are held mostly by the members of the royal family, and when male members are not to be found females are chosen to hold the posts" (Rémusat, Nouv. Mel. As., I, p. 109). Their ability in astrology is also praised by the Chinese writers.

Ba Puon (Hema-Çringa-Giri).

Among the buildings attributed to Jayavarman V the "Tower of the Golden Horn," at present known as Ba Puon, is the most noteworthy. The Sanscrit inscription of Prea Kev [1] gives the interesting information, in the stanzas 6 and 7, that the muni Çivâçraya, eloquent, faithful to his vows, was in this temple of the tower of the golden horn (Hema-çringa-giri) made by King Jayavarman the censor of good and bad qualities for the sound development of the worship of the gods. We have already seen Jayavarman V issuing instructions to the public on the moral teachings of the Buddha. Here the office of Censor is conferred on a Brahman priest. He seems to be following the example of Açoka.

Ba Puon, to the north of the Bayon, is inferior in size only to the two largest pyramids

[1] I.S.C.C., p. 106.

of Egypt. Each of its sides is about 400 feet in length and the structure rises in three terraces one above the other, each terrace being surrounded by a gallery. Fine bas-reliefs, representing scenes from the Râmâyana, etc., are to be found on the walls of the highest gallery. Among the Râma reliefs may be mentioned the interview of Râma and Lakṣmana with the monkey-king Sugrîva, the duel between Sugrîva and Bâli, the ten-headed Râvana, on a chariot drawn by lions, facing Râma who is carried by Hanumân, the ordeal of Sitâ, and Râma enthroned. There are also scenes from the life of Kṛṣṇa, the grief of his parents at the destruction of their offspring by his uncle, his lifting up of Mount Govardhana to shelter the shepherds, etc.

The high tower which surmounted this shrine has now disappeared. Cheou Ta-kouan refers to it as the tower of copper, to the north of the tower of gold and higher than the latter, of which the view was very impressive.

Jayavarman V also made additions to the palace which henceforth receives the name of Jayendranagarî.

Udayâdityavarman I.

Jayavarman V (whose posthumous name was Paramaviraloka) was succeeded in 923 ç. e. (1001 A. D.) by his nephew Udayâdityavarman I.

The credit of discovering this king belongs to M. Coedes, who edited the inscription of Prâsât Khnâ,[1] in which is found a passage:—"There was in 923 (ç.e.) in the royal dynasty of Kambuja a king of kings, foremost in action, Udayâdityavarman, who with his arrows had vanquished a host of enemies up to the sea-coast." We also learn that his maternal aunt was the queen of Jayavarman V and that his maternal uncle was a general of that king. The object of this inscription was the consecration of an image of Viṣṇu by an elder brother of the new king.

Suryavarman I—A Buddhist King.

He however reigned only for a year, for in 924 ç. e. (1002 A. D.) we find Suryavarman on the Kambuja throne. The last king was deposed and probably lost his life in the struggle. The inscription of Prah Khan, which has been re-edited by M. Finot,[2] states:—"Shaking the eight directions and the earth bent down under his dancing feet, causing Indra to wander about lamenting (his fate) by the (whirl-wind) created by his (revolving) arms which throws down the celestial palaces,...may the dance of the moon-crested god, the delight of the gods and of

[1] Etudes Cambodgienner B.E.F.E.O., t. xi, pp. 391-406.

[2] B.E.F.E O., t. iv, p. 674.

those dear to him, be propitious. Homage to Buddha, in whom alone the word omniscient has found its real meaning, and whose words alone are found logically true. I salute the feet of my guru, which are like two boats for (traversing) the tantras of the pâramis, and whose knowledge has sprung from the favour of the three-eyed god. There was (a king) Çri Suryavarman... born of the solar race whose reign (commenced) in 924 ç.e. His feet are the Bhâṣyas (of the grammarian Pâtanjali), his hands are the Kâvyas, his (six) organs of sense are the six systems of philosophy, the dharmaçâstras are his head...His valour is to be judged from this that this sage muni has won in battle the kingdom from a king who was surrounded by other princes." The last line is evidently an allusion to his victory over Udayâdityavarman.

During the first three years of his reign this monarch bore the name of Jayaviravarman. He claimed descent from Indravarman (the father of Yaçovarman[1]) and his queen Viralakṣmi was also related to the sons of Yaçovarman.

On the pillars of a portico near Phimeanakas, among the ruins of the palace, are engraved eight inscriptions containing the names of the administrators of the 'sroks' (or districts of the kingdom) who swore the oath of allegiance to Suryavarman. The eight inscriptions begin

[1] I.S.C.C., p. 104, stanza 10.

with the same text (in Khmer), which gives the oath, and then follows lists of names which in each inscription occupy about 30 lines. About 4,000 names can still be counted. Before each name there is generally the title Mrâtân (governor) and then the name of the srok is given—*e.g.*, the Mrâtân Khlon Çri Ranakesari of Nâgapura.

The oath of allegiance is as follows[1]:—"In 933 ç. e., the 9th of the waxing moon of Bhâdra (August-September), Sunday. Here is the oath which we, belonging to the body of tamvrâc (lictor) of the first, second, third, and fourth categories, swear all of us without exception, cutting our hands, and offering our lives and grateful and stainless devotion to H. M. Çri Suryavarmanadeva, who has been in complete enjoyment of the sovereignty since 924 ç. e., in the presence of the sacred fire, the holy jewel, the Brahmans, and the âcâryas. We shall not honour any other king, we shall never be hostile (to our king), we shall not be the accomplices of any enemy, and we shall not seek to injure him (our king) in any way. We pledge ourselves to perform all actions which are the fruit of our grateful devotion towards His Majesty. If there is war, we pledge ourselves to fight faithfully in his cause without valuing our lives.

[1] Coedes, Etudes Cambodgiennes, B.E.F.E.O., t. xiii.

We shall not fly from the battlefield. If we die a sudden death, not in war, or (even) if we commit suicide, may we obtain the reward due to persons devoted to their lord. As our lives are dedicated to the service of His Majesty up to the day of our death, we shall faithfully do our duty to the king, whatever may be the time and circumstances of our death. If there is any affair, for which His Majesty orders us to go abroad, to learn everything about it, we shall seek to know it in detail. If all of us, who are here in person, do not stick to this oath of allegiance to His Majesty, may he reign long yet, we ask that he may inflict punishments of all sorts on us. If we hide ourselves, to escape carrying out the oath, may we be reborn in the thirty-two hells as long as there is the sun and moon. If we carry out loyally our promise, may His Majesty give orders for the upkeep of the pious foundations of our country, and for the maintenance of our families, as we are the devoted followers of our lord H. M. Çri Suryavarmanadeva, who has been in complete possession of the sacred royalty since 924 ç. e., and may we obtain the reward due to faithful servants in this world and in the next."

M. Coedes remarks that the similarity between this oath of allegiance and the pledge which the officials at the present time take at Phnom Pen is striking. After nearly a thousand years almost the same words are used. The two

formulae differ only by the substitution of Buddhist terms for Brahmanical.

King Suryavarman was himself a Buddhist as his posthumous name Nirvânapada clearly indicates. The inscription of Lopburi [1] (Lavapuri in Siam), dated 944 ç.e. (1022 A.D.), gives us the royal edict issued by the king for the regulation of the monasteries. In all holy places, temples, monasteries, and hermitages, the ascetics, the sthaviras (Hinayâna monks ?), and the Mahâyâna bhikṣus should offer to the king the merits of their piety. People, who disturb the prayers or the sacred duties of the pious, should be handed over to tribunals which will try and punish them. But though a Buddhist he did not fail in constructing numerous temples consecrated to Çiva and Viṣṇu. He is also credited with having established the division of castes, for it was through him that the Brahman Çivâcârya "on account of his excellent faith received the great honour of being placed at the head of his caste." [2]

The inscription of Tuol Prâsât[3] (Sanscrit and Khmer) records a legal judgment. "In 925 ç.e. H. M. Jayaviravarman (Suryavarman I) being in (the palace of) the four gates of Jayendranagarî, the lord Çri Prithivîndra-pandita, whose office was to punish and to reward (*i. e.*, the Chief

[1] Aymonier, Le Cambodge, t. ii, p. 81.
[2] Inscr. of Prea Kev, I.S.C.C., p. 106, st. 8.
[3] Aymonier, *op. cit.*, t. i, p. 379.

Justice), and the judges of the royal court of justice, prostrating themselves before the king, respectfully read to him the Sanscrit stanzas relating to the origin and the situation of (the property consisting of) the fields and the forests of Vâp Sah—the keeper of the sacred registers. Other persons had claimed the land. But the affair was closed by an order of donation of H. M. Jayaviravarman which His Majesty ordered to be engraved on this stone—the royal pleasure having, after a favourable judgment, attributed to Vâp Sah all the land in dispute." Then follow the names of those who assisted at this royal court of justice—among whom we find the Chief Justice (whose name we have already seen), the head of the army and of the royal magazines, whose name was Parâkramavîra, etc.

The inscription of Prea Kev [1] tells us about the guru of Suryavarman (Stanza 6, p. 104) Yogîçvarapandita, who constructed the pancaçula (five spires) on the Hemagiri shrine. In stanza 10 is stated that Suryavarman ascended the throne in 924 ç.e. and shone like the sun in the firmament of the family of Indravarman. Stanzas 12 and 13 tell us:—"In the city of Yaçodharapura, in the brilliant palace of the four gates, glittering with gems, gold and silver, Yogîçvarapandita (the royal guru) was constantly honoured by the

[1] I.S.C.C., p. 104.

king. There by the guru of the king, the chief ministers, by the principal persons of the court, by the Brahmans, with folded hands, with hymns of praise, and with the holy fire was Içа honoured." This refers to the consecration ceremony of the image of Yogîçvara. What is more interesting is (stanzas 2 and 3, p. 103) that Yogîçvarapandita was descended from Bhâs-svaminî, the daughter of a Brahman, who became the queen of Parameçvara (Jayavarman II). So in Kambuja not only a Brahman could marry a Kṣatriya princess, but a Brahman maiden could also be married to a Kṣatriya prince. Again, in stanzas 16 to 19 (p. 107), we find Çivavindu, the grandson of Çivâcârya, the censor of morals during the reign of Jayavarman V, obtaining from King Suryavarman the present of a palanquin adorned with a winged dragon (which probably shows Chinese influence) and the charge of the inspection of good and bad qualities in the tower of the golden horn. As his grandfather had received the same post, at the same place, probably in this tower the high officials received their investiture.

In the inscription of Lovek,[1] which commemorates the pious works of the matriarchal family with the curious name of Saptadevakula, there is an eulogy (stanzas 6 to 9, p. 130) of

[1] I.S.C.C., p. 128.

Suryavarman :—"Oh! how, well versed in the Atharva (veda), his soul devoted to yoga, he bound the loyal world to himself by seven-fold threads (or by his sacrifices)! Learned in the teachings of Pâṇini, and (at the same time) most excellent, he knew to cast away the chief meaning in a word used metaphorically (or he did not care for the caste of a person who did good to others)." In the next stanzas we are introduced to one Kavîçvara (of the Saptadeva-kula), whose learning was his sole wealth, and who was appointed by Suryavarman to be the priest of Çambhu on Suryaparvata. His knowledge of grammar is emphasised, and he is compared with Patanjali with his 1,000 mouths (as an incarnation of Çeṣa-nâga[1]). We should note that grammar means in these inscriptions the Sanscrit language and hence is the great importance attached to it. He is also supposed to be equal in logic to Kanâda (the atomist philosopher of India) himself (stanza 16, p. 131).

The record of the High Priests (the Sdok Kak Thom inscr.) gives us a curious bit of information. "During the reign of H. M. Nirvânapada (Suryavarman) the members of the family (of the High Priests) served the Royal God as before. The Sten ân Sadâçiva was the purohita of the Jagat ta Râja (the Deva-râja or

[1] This legend is referred to in the book on Pâtanjali by Râmabhadra Dikṣita.

Royal God) being the head of the family. H. M. Nirvâṇapada made him come out of his ascetic life in order to give him as wife the sister of his principal queen Viralakṣmi. He (the king) conferred on him the titles of Kamsten Çri Jayendrapandita, the royal priest, the chief of the works (Khlon Karmmânta) of the first class." Some passages of this inscription refer to the holy shrines being desecrated by rebels which were restored by the high priest. It appears as if the Brahmans were getting rather unpopular, perhaps on account of the forced labour demanded for them from the neighbouring areas.

The inscription of Prah Khan (a splendid ruined temple, thirty leagues to the east of Angkor, and probably Buddhist) tells us (Kern's translation[1]) that Suryavarman, the protector of learning, had founded a college, the interior of which was devoted to the cult of truth and goodness, and the exterior to the cult of beauty.

Suryavarman, the first Buddhist king on the Kambuja throne, lived in the memory of the people, for by a strange anachronism his name heads the list of the kings in the first chapters (which are of very doubtful authenticity) of the modern chronicle of Cambodia which begins with the period 1340 A.D.

[1] Aymonier, Le Cambodge, t. i, p. 439.

Udayâdityâvarman II.

He was succeeded by Udayâdityavarman II, probably his son, in 971 ç.e.[1] (1049 A.D.). In the inscription of Lovek (stanzas 20 to 25)[2] there is a praçasti of this king :—"Afterwards Udayâdityavarman, the lord of the earth, with his radiant glory, was born in this race of kings like the moon in the sea of milk. He excelled in captivating ladies by his personal charms, warriors by his valour, the wise by his virtues, the people by his prowess, and the Brahmans by his gifts. Endowed with an unique collection of good qualities, (this prince), on Suryavarman's departure for heaven, was crowned the lord of the universe by his ministers. Seeing that in the middle of Jambudvîpa there was a golden mountain—to rival it he had a mount of gold in his capital. On the top of this golden mount, in a resplendent golden shrine, he consecrated a Çivalinga which was bathed regularly. By this king the wise Çankarapandita...was appointed as guru."

The king had also another guru. The record of the High Priests, the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom, thus[3] refers to this reign (the last reign mentioned in this inscription which covers the

[1] Inscr. of Preah Vihear, Aymonier, t. ii, p. 214.

[2] I.S.C.C., p. 131.

[3] Notes d'Epigraphie, B.E.F.E.O., t. xv, No. 2, p. 93.

period 724 ç.e. to 974 ç.e. (802 to 1052 A.D.):—"During the reign of H. M. Çri Udayâditya-varman-deva the members of the family served the Royal God as before. The Kamraten an Çri Jayendrapandita was the guru of the king and bore the title of Vrah Kamraten an Çri Jayendravarman. The king learnt from him all the sciences: astronomy and mathematics, grammar, the Dharmaçâstras, and all the other çâstras. He celebrated also the consecrations (dikṣâ), commencing with the bhuvanâdhva (the word âdhva is a technical term in the Çaiva Siddhântas meaning stages of evolution in Çaiva mysticism) and the brahmayajña, and he performed the mahotsavapujâ according to Vrah Guhya (the great secret). The king on the other hand gave magnificent presents such as crowns, ear-rings, bracelets, and other ornaments, 200 elephants, and a thousand slaves to his preceptor, and conferred on him the highest title of Dhuli Jeng (the dust of the feet).

General Sangrâma.

The reign of this king seems to have been a troubled one. Three serious revolts were quelled by the general Sangrâma (War). The inscription of Prea Ngouk [1] gives us a stirring account of these military operations in the epic

[1] I.S.C.C., p. 145 *et seq.*

style. The first 55 lines have been badly damaged. This portion dealt with the genealogy of the general which, as far as can be made out, seems to be matriarchal. It is also connected with the royal dynasty. Jayavarman II, Indravarman, Yaçovarman, Harṣavarman I, Jayavarman IV, and Suryavarman are mentioned in this portion of the inscription, but we cannot make out what was their connection to the family. A Brahman lady of the name of Ambujanetrâ (the lotus-eyed) seems to have been the ancestress of the family. At last in the 5th stanza (B., p. 149) we are introduced to the hero of the poem:—"Proud hero, expert in the use of arms, well-known for a long time as Sangrâma." "Unmatched in combat, reckoned as the foremost (warrior) by the enemies themselves, called a (second) Arjuna, no hero on earth was his equal...This great hero was appointed to the head of the army by the king, for the defence of the royal Lakṣmi (*i e.*, the prosperity of the realm), in the interests of his subjects, and of (the king) himself. There was, in the year 973 ç.e., a hostile chief, difficult to overcome in battle, of the name of Aravinda-hrada (the lake of the lotus), who had made himself feared in the south.[1] Knowing[2] the meaning of the Çastras, able, master of himself,

[1] Stanzas 7, 9, 10, p. 149.

[2] Stanza 11 *et seq.*

with a brave army, this strong haughty (person) bore (the burden) of half the earth in the south with vigour. Devathpalkhphas, Gnânlam, Poh, Spot, Khmonn, the chief of Avadhyapura, and other indomitable generals, sent by the king against him, fought with this enemy. All these, however, though excelling in valour, physical strength and arms, with their troops, impetuous as the sea-waves, could not overcome in battle the enemy and his forces. This powerful enemy having crushed many great generals, Sangrâma, the head of the army, saluted the sovereign and said to him:—" Grant me a favour, O king of kings. This enemy, unconquerable by others, I shall overcome in battle by thy grace. Appoint me (as your general)." The king of kings, thus addressed, replied joyfully :— " Excellent ! Excellent ! Oh hero ! I want to do as you desire." On hearing this, the general of the name of Sangrâma, saluting the king, went promptly with his army to meet the hostile chief so difficult to conquer."

Having come up to the hostile army, the commander-in-chief (Sangrâma) rebuked his foe for his presumption in daring to resist the might of the king.[1] " The earth is to be ruled by a heroic king. Who art thou, oh miserable (wretch), who art incapable of protecting (the earth). In thy delusion thou thinkest lightly of us." Thus

[1] Stanza 20, p. 150.

addressed, the arrogant chief of the enemy, steadfast in battle, angrily replied to the commander-in-chief :[1]—"You need not try to frighten me. You should know that (often) in the past the issue of a battle has been uncertain, and the earth has changed its master. Therefore you should not insult me." Sangrâma then unchained the fiery flow of his arrows, and Aravinda-hrada fled as fast as he could to Champa. Sangrâma, after the rout of the enemy, went to the Içvara (Çiva) of Râjatirtha.

Then begins the account of the second campaign:[2]—"There was a famous spy, clever, a favourite of the king, a valiant hero of the name of Kamvau, who was made a general of the army by the king...Harbouring in his heart the idea of ruining him, to whom he owed his greatness, he came out of his town one day with his troops. With his stream of troops, well-armed, aspiring to conquer all the gods like Râvana though (he was but) a mortal, he overran the country up to the place where the hero (Sangrâma) lived. Devasrau, Vlon, Vnur, Gam, Censrau, Camnatt, Râñña, Khmonn, these great chiefs of the army, and many other great generals of the king, were commissioned by the king to conquer this enemy. The enemy, having defeated them, pursued them (flushed) with

[1] Stanza 23.

[2] Stanza 17 *et seq.*, p. 152.

victory." They (the king's officers) being killed, the king of kings said to his generals :—"The heroes, who die faithful to their master, are served by Lakṣmi in heaven. Hasten then at once with your well-armed troops, oh captains!" Thus addressed, Sangrâma, the head of the army, made this reply :—"The gods themselves, headed by Indra, of marvellous prowess in war, cannot withstand thy spell, what to say of mortals. Remain undisturbed, oh great king, (aided) by thy magic spell, this swallower of Indra, whom others have found so difficult to overcome, I shall destroy."

Then on the battlefield,[1] rejoicing on having seen each other, impatient to snatch away the victory (from each other), these two heroes (Sangrâma and Kamvau) hastened to meet each other like Râma and Râvana. Seeing the two leaders ardent to fight a duel, their chief captains, prostrating themselves before them, spoke thus :—"Ah lord! Oh great hero! Give up the duel! leave us, who are fit for it, the task of repulsing the hero." So saying, all, with their weapons in their hands, they placed themselves before their (respective) leaders—each fighting with a foe of proved valour. The sky shone with the bright flashes of kharga, çataghnî, iça, çula, çakti, and other weapons which were brandished ...in one part or another (of the battle-field)...

[1] Stanza 34 *et seq.*

Seeing the arch-rebel before him, bow in hand, Sangrâma, an orator, thus addressed him in words haughty and of deep meaning :—" Stop ! Stop ! great hero ! Show thy valour to me. As soon as I have tested thy courage, I shall send thee to the abode of Yama." Kamvau, having adjusted an arrow to his bow, bright and curved, aimed at the jaw of the general. The general, struck by the arrow as by a rain of flowers, was no more shaken than a mountain by a rainfall. Promptly with three arrows well feathered, hissing like the darts of Agni, he hit the enemy, at the same time, in the head, the neck, and in the chest. Wounded by the sharp arrows, the hostile chief, falling on the ground, uttered a loud cry, thus announcing, as it were, the sad news to his followers. The enemy having gone to Yama's abode with all his captains...the general reached on his way back Çiva's shrine erected on Prithuçaila, and, prostrating himself before (it), made an offering of all that he possessed."

The inscription goes on to describe a third campaign. Attacked at Prithuçaila by one Swat, Sangrâma is again victorious...After his victories, when he was presented by the king with all that he had won, he thus addresses his sovereign :[1]— " If, Oh merciful one, thou art merciful to me, order me to reap the fruit of my fidelity by consecrating this booty to thy subtle inner spirit

[1] Stanza 27, p. 157 (I.S.C.C.).

which is embodied in a linga of gold." This passage is striking as it shows the belief that even in one's lifetime one's soul could dwell in a sacred image.

This is one of the last of our long inscriptions. The narrative portion is dealt with in an epic style which distinguishes it from all others. There is a touch of genuine poetry in it. The style is polished and at the same time vigorous. It suits the stirring scenes which it describes. There is nothing in it to show that it was written in a country so far removed from India.

The inscription of Prasat Prah Khset [1] dated 988 ç.e. (1066 A.D.) also belongs to this reign. It refers to the restoration of a linga (which was broken by the enemy Kambau) by Saṃkarsha—the son of the sister of King Udayâŕkavarman (same as Udayâdityavarman). In the year 989 ç.e. the same person consecrated on the same spot a curious combination of images composed of Brahmâ, Viṣṇu and Buddha. Buddha here takes the place of Çiva in the Trimurti. But the whole group, consisting of the linga and the three images of Brahmâ, Viṣṇu and Buddha, was dedicated to Çiva invoked under the name of "broken Çiva" (as it was formerly broken by the rebel Kambau).

[1] I.S.C.C., p. 173.

Harṣavarman III and his Guru.

Udayâdityavarman II was succeeded by his younger brother Harṣavarman III. We do not know the exact date either of his accession or of his death. We can only say that he was reigning during the period 1068-1090 A.D.

The inscription of Lovek, which is the record of the matriarchal Brahman family named Saptadevakula, mentions this monarch in stanzas 27 to 31 [1]:—"Afterwards Harṣavarman, a younger brother born of the same mother, was king for the joy (harṣa) of his people after Udayâdityavarman had gone to Heaven. Çankarapandita, as his guru, consecrated him and established him on the throne with the aid of the ministers, just as Vaçiṣṭha (consecrated Râma). The son of Gâdhin (Viçvâmitra) did not succeed by his royal power to seize the cow Nandini (which belonged to Vaçiṣṭha), but Harṣavarman knew how to win her by combining force and mildness.....This monarch secured peace for his subjects by causing the duties of the four castes (jâti) to be strictly observed. This ruler...having acquired Çankara as purohita, obtained in him, as Yudhiṣṭhîra in Dhaumya (the priest of the Pândavas), the highest achievement one could desire in this world and in the next." In the 32nd stanza is

[1] I.S.C.C., pp. 131-132.

stated the object of this inscription of the Saptadevakula family :—"Born, through his mother, of the Saptadevakula, and purohita (priest) of three sovereigns (Suryavarman, Udayâdityavarman II and Harṣavarman III), the ascetic Çankara consecrated this image as well as a palanquin to the Çankara (Çiva) of Dviradadeça (the country of elephants)."

It seems that, through the influence of this Brahman Çankarapandita, there was a reaction in favour of Brahmanism during this and the preceding reign. There were apparently no internal troubles during the rule of Harṣavarman, but we learn from Champa inscriptions[1] that a Khmer army under a prince of Kambuja of the name of Nandavarmadeva, which invaded Champa, was repulsed, and that prince Pan, the brother of Champa king, pursued the Kambuja troops into their own territory, and captured a large number of prisoners and won a large booty at Çambhupura (the present Sambaur).

[1] B. E. F. E. O., t. iv, pp. 938-945.

CHAPTER VIII.

Suryavarman II and Angkor Vat.

The next king Jayavarman VI seems to have been a founder of a new dynasty, as his successors on the throne trace their descent from him and do not go beyond. The Sanscrit inscription of Ban That[1] and the Khmer-Sanscrit inscriptions of Phnom Sandak and Preah Vihear[2] are our sole authorities for this and the next two reigns. The last two inscriptions, which have a good deal in common, tell us that Jayavarman VI's abhiṣeka (coronation ceremony) was performed about 1012 ç.e. (1090 A.D.) by the Brahman Divâkarapandita—who remains the outstanding figure as the royal guru during several consecutive reigns. Jayavarman conferred on him the title of Bhagvat Pâda Kamraten An. During his reign and that of his predecessor and successor the Vrah Guru (Divâkara) performed numerous sacrifices, excavated tanks, and offered slaves, elephants, etc., to gods and pandits and places of pilgrimage (sapta devatâ kṣetra).

The first part of the Sanscrit inscription of Ban That (in Laos) is illegible. In the 16th and the

[1] Finot, Notes d'Epigraphie, B.E.F.E.O., t. xii, no. 2.

[2] Aymonier. Le Cambodge, t. i, pp. 395-6 (Phnom Sandak); and t. ii, p. 213 *et seq.* (Preah Vihear).

17th stanzas we find the invocation still continued :—" By His own power (creating) Matter, the One, having in him the essence of the three gunas, is (become) Hiraṇyagarbha—Hari ;....by His power also he is Unchangeable. I adore Him. For producing duality—by His own power He evolves primeval matter. Having fulfilled this desire he reabsorbs Matter into Himself. I adore the Master...." Then the narrative begins and we are told how the Lord, propitiated by the hymn, appears smiling before the Muni (whose name has disappeared) and gives him and his family the hereditary post of priest of the linga on Mount Bhadreçvara. Then we hear (in stanzas 30-33) that the king of Kambuja (whose name is also missing) was in search of a hotâ of pure life, great learning, and illustrious descent for the consecration of his son (as Yuvarâja). For bringing this Muni, knowing him to be trustworthy and experienced in decorum, he sent a fleet of barges, well equipped for the voyage, as of old Lomapâda had sent for Riṣyaçriṇga.[1] Kings (came) from other islands,

.....and on the royal road there were festive celebrations, on a scale unheard of before, adorned with an art characteristic of each country.

In the second part of this inscription, we are told of the visit of Indra to compliment the

[1] Râmâyaṇa, Canto I.

Muni for his asceticism. Indra says : "What can be more sacred in the three worlds, to be obtained by man with reverence, than this mountain, this Çiva-linga, the holy stream of this tirtha, and yourself the jewel of wisdom." Then the god invites the Muni to sanctify heaven with his presence. But the latter, though he is in an ecstasy at the god's words, like a tree (after the summer) drenched by the first rain (of the rainy season), modestly declines the offer and requests Indra : "Let my descendants, consecrated by Çiva to his service, remain here on Mount Çaivânghri, by your grace to the end of time." The prayer is granted and the god departs. The Muni, after teaching the Çaiva doctrine to other Munis and having put in his place the son of his sister, goes to the (abode) endless and immeasurable.

A Learned Brahman Lady.

In the third part of this inscription, it is stated thatin the Mâtrivaṃça (matriarchal family) of this Muni was born the lady Tilakâ. Even while playing in the dust as a child she shone like the sky over the earth. In her youth not only had she a beauty most excellent coupled with right conduct.....but by the elders, the royal gurus, and the most learned she was honoured publicly and proclaimed as the goddess Vâgîçvarî (the goddess of learning), and

in contests of learning, being reckoned the foremost, she was decked with jewels[1] (stanzas 1-4, part III). By the prediction of a sage she became the wife of a devout Çaiva Namaç-Çivâya. Their son Subhadra or Murdhâçiva became famous as the pandit of the court of Jayavarman VI.[2] Though well versed in all the çâstras, commencing with the three Vedas, he devoted himself specially to Çaiva scriptures following the tradition of his family. In dikṣâ (initiation) ceremonies, more than once, he made the learned drink not only Soma but also the nectar of the systems of Nyâya, Sâṇkhya, Vaiçeṣika, the Çabda-çâstra (of Pâṇini) and the Bhâṣya (of Patañjali). In his âçrama, full of presents offered at the end of their studies by his pupils, perfumed with the smoke of uninterrupted oblations, rose the voices of students discussing difficult texts like experts. One day, during a sacrifice, King Jayavarman VI, wishing to honour a gathering of learned persons, asked the experts in scriptures to examine (the students) according to their merits. With books open before them they questioned

[1] The latter portion of this interesting stanza may also be rendered as :—" She was respected by the learned.....who bowed down and publicly adored her as Vâgîçvarî.....She was worshipped with jewels in the school."

[2] This and the following passages (up to the end of this paragraph) are based on stanzas 15-27 of part III of the Inscr. of Ban That (B,E.F.E.O., t. xii, no. 2).

Subhadra. But he cut their arguments (pakṣa) in two by the thunderbolt of his learning as Indra cut the wings of the mountains. By the perfection of his merits, like Yâjñavalkya at the court of Janaka, he eclipsed all the learned even from his youth. The king conferred on him successively the posts of inspector of religious establishments and of arbitrator of disputes among the nobility in religious as well as in civil matters. Afterwards Dharanìndravarman, without having any desire for the kingdom, when the king (Jayavarman VI), who was his younger brother, went to heaven, through a compassionate heart, yielding to the prayers of multitudes of people who were without a protector, governed the earth with prudence.

Dharanîndravarman.

From the Khmer-Sanscrit inscription of Prea Vihear we learn that the Vrah guru Divâkara pandit performed the abhiṣeka ceremony of Dharanîndravarman I. "This monarch was well advanced in years and by his qualities considerably developed the seven prakritis of the State (the king, the ministers, the forts, the subjects, the treasure, the army and the allies).[1]

[1] I*bid*, stanza 28.

In stanzas 30-35 [1] we have an eulogy of Suryavarman II :—"After (Dharanîndravarman) there reigned a king, son of Çri Narendralakṣmî—the daughter of the sister of the two preceding kings—as Kârttikeya was the son of Bhavânî, as formidable to his enemies as the lion to elephants. The radiance of his feet placed on the heads of kings was like that of the sun. Though of the name of Suryavarman (the sun), yet, for the joy of the people he was (mild) like the moon. In his early youth, at the end of his studies, the desire for the royal dignity of his house was roused in him, (the royal dignity which) at that time (*i.e.*, after the death of Dharanîndravarman) was shared by two masteıs as the nectar was shared (by the gods) and Râhu. Pouring his army like the sea-waves on the battlefield he fought a terrific fight. Tearing down the rival king from the head of his elephant, he slew him as Garuḍa slays a serpent on the peak of a mountain. The earth was plunged in the sea of ruin wrought by the enemy ; like the Boar (Viṣṇu) with its tusks—he with his arms raised her scatheless (from this condition) and restored her to her normal state. The kings of other islands whom he wanted to subdue—he saw them coming with offers of tribute. He himself marched into the

[1] Inscr. Ban That (Pt. III).

countries of the enemies, and he eclipsed the glory of the victorious Raghu."[1]

In stanzas 37 to 45 there is a reference to a great temple built by this king :—"He built a group of three edifices of stone (or a structure in three stages) with walls around, adorned with large tanks, hermitages, and groves of flowering creepers which, like the three-peaked Meru, was frequented by Ṛiṣis and Apsarâs. Innumerable banners floating joyously in the air, the sound of tûryas ascending to heaven, the sweet songs accompanying stringed instruments, the dancing girls—all this made it like Indra's heaven. The ancient accounts, revealed by the voice of Sûta at the dîrghasattra of Çaunaka (the Mahâbhârata), all these could be seen exactly reproduced on the walls adorned with pictures. There the sage erected at the same time an image of Ṣaḍânana (Kârttikeya), son of Gaurî who triumphed over Mahiṣâsura, and a linga of Çiva..." Finally in stanzas 53-54 we have :— "In this âçrama he (the sage) collected many different kinds of books on all the çâstras, so that they could be studied without interruption."

As Aymonier observes this magnificent description of the temple fits in much better

[1] An allusion to Kâlidasa's Raghuvaṃça, Canto III. This line on account of a mistaken reading "dvipatâmradeçam" instead of "dvisatam pradeçam" was wrongly rendered by Kern "the king led an expedition to the isle of copper (Ceylon)."

with Angkor Vat rather than with the far humbler shrine of Ban That. Ban That has also no bas-reliefs. It is very strange that, with the exception of the explanatory notes in Khmer on the bas-reliefs of the court scenes at Angkor Vat, no reference has been found up to this time to the greatest and most well-known temple of Kambuja. The inscriptions of Phnom Sandak[1] and Preah Vihear,[2] recording the pious works of the royal guru Divâkarapaṇḍita, allude to a great building activity which may be in connection with Angkor Vat.

Suryavarman II.

From these inscriptions, which have got nearly the same text, and both of which have been badly damaged, we learn that Divâkarapaṇḍita performed the abhiṣeka ceremony of Suryavarman II, thus anointing three kings in succession. As soon as he ascended the throne, the young king went through the ceremonies of the dikṣâs (initiations), studied the siddhântas, was initiated into the mysteries of Vrah Guhya (the Great Secret—probably a Tântric dikṣâ), held convocations for discussing scriptures (Çâstrotsava), and distributed presents (dakṣiṇâ) to the learned. He also performed

[1] Aymonier, Le Cambodge, t. i, pp. 395-6.

[2] *Ibid*, t. ii, p. 213 *et seq.*

the koṭi-homa, the lakṣa-homa, and the mahâ-homa as well as sacrifices to the sacred ancestors. Apparently all this was done under the guidance of the guru Divâkara.

It is a curious feature of these two inscriptions that they are interspersed with Sanscrit çlokas, and stranger still that these Sanscrit verses are attributed by the text to the king himself. The royal verses generally sum up briefly what had been stated already in Khmer.

Then the text goes on to enumerate the donations of gold, silver, slaves, elephants, etc., by the "exalted guru" (apparently on behalf of the king) to all the shrines and especially to Bhadreçvara. Another çloka composed by His Majesty comes in here. The tanks excavated and the monasteries founded by Divâkara are mentioned. Then there is an account of the royal family and the high state officials. After another royal stanza is described how the towers and the pyramidal temples are ornamented. The latter portion of the Phnom Sandak inscription is illegible but we can make out donations to Çri Campeçvara (Viṣṇu). In the concluding lines of the Preah Vihear inscription we find that in 1041 ç.e. (1119 A. D.) H. M. Suvavarman II gave orders for a levy of the workers, whose names were in the corvée lists of the first, second, and third categories. Probably the fourth category was included also, but it

cannot be made out as the line has been badly damaged. In 1043 ç.e., Divâkara received the title of Dhuli Jeng (which is generally reserved for the monarch) from the king. Has this levy of workers anything to do with the construction of Angkor Vat ?

Divákara, the Royal Guru.

The information we get from the Khmer inscription of Vat Phou [1] makes this problem more enigmatic. In the introductory Sanscrit stanzas we get the name of Suryavarman II and of the god Bhadreçvara to whom the temple of Vat Phou was consecrated. Then we hear of a petition to the saintly guru for the construction of.....(the rest of the sentence is missing). In 1044 ç.e. (1122 A. D.) a Çankara-Nârâyaṇa is erected in the Vrâh Prân. Now Prân in Khmer means a pyramidal temple and Vat Phou is not a shrine of this type. Is this a reference to Angkor Vat ? Then the erection of an image of the Vrah Guru (Divâkara) is mentioned. So he received divine honours in his life-time. In 1049 ç.e., a Vrah Viṣṇu was consecrated. In 1061 ç.e. (1139 A. D.) more images and a temple were consecrated with magnificent donations.

During the reign of Suryavarman II, the letters of the inscriptions, which had been

[1] Aymonier, Le Cambodge, t. ii, p. 163.

round in shape since the days of Indravarman I (9th century), became square. Many inscriptions of this reign in Sanscrit have been found in the northern part of the kingdom in the Dangrek range and beyond. They are mostly Buddhist and have not yet been edited. Buddhism seems to have been very flourishing at this period though Brahmanism was the court religion. The Khmer inscriptions of this monarch have all been very badly damaged—perhaps deliberately.

Diplomatic Relations with China.

This reign is also remarkable for the renewal of diplomatic relations with China which had been broken off in the 9th century with Jayavarman II's accession. In 1117 A. D., we learn from Chinese chronicles,[1] that two Kambuja officials sent by Suryavarman II reached the Chinese court. One of these two was named Kieou Mo-seng-ko (...Siṃha?). The Emperor presented them court dress, listened to their compliments, and ordered an account of their reception to be included in the official annals. Four years later another embassy came from Kambuja to the Imperial Court. The king of Kambuja was invested with the

[1] Ma-touan-lin's Meridionaux, translated by Hervey de Saint Denys, p. 485.

same title as the king of Champa. In 1128 A. D. the Emperor conferred again high titles on the Kambuja ruler and recognised him as the great vassal of the Empire. Some difficulties relating to commerce were examined and rules laid down regarding them. A brief description of the Chen-la of this period is found at the end of the account of these embassies. Chen-la extended from Champa to the East to Pegu (Phukam) to the West and touched Ka-la-hi (near the Bay of Bandon in the Malay Peninsula—this was also called Grahi) to the South. It measured 7,000 li (700 leagues). The number of its war-elephants was 200,000. There were numerous horses, but they were of small size. The customs and manners of the people were like those of Champa. A tower of copper, surrounded by 24 copper towers, probably refers to the Bayon. Four copper elephants, each weighing 4,000 pounds, stood like sentinels near the entrance.

Angkor Vat.

Now we come to the great riddle of Kambuja. Who built Angkor Vat and to which deity was it consecrated? The evidence seems to point to Suryavarman II and his guru Divâkarapaṇḍita as the constructors of this magnificent structure. And very probably it

was a Viṣṇu temple, though now it has become a Hinayâna Buddhist shrine.

First of all, the brief Khmer inscriptions, which are of the nature of explanatory notes, found on the two bas-reliefs depicting court, scenes and heaven and hell, are written in the square characters which characterise the inscriptions of Suryavarman II and his successor Jayavarman VII. These inscriptions give the name of Parama-Viṣṇuloka to the sovereign depicted in the court scenes. Now we do not know the posthumous names of two kings Udayâdityavarman II (middle of the 11th century) and Suryavarman II. The square characters of the inscriptions, the brief and troubled reign of Udayâdityavarman II, the frequent allusions to Viṣṇu in the other inscriptions of Suryavarman II (those of Phnom Sandak, Preah Vihear and Vat Phou), and the great building activity recorded in them make it almost certain that Parama-Viṣṇuloka was the *nom d'apotheose* of Suryavarman II. The names of the chief nobles[1] in the court scenes are also written in the same square characters, and some of the titles can be

[1] One of these nobles, Virendrâdhipativarman of Chok Vakula, has now been identified with the builder of the Phimai shrine in 1108 A. D. (*i.e.*, 4 years before the accession of Suryavarman II). Thus it is now practically settled that Angkor Vat was built during the reign of Suryavarman II and finished just after his death. (See Coedès, J. A., 1920, p. 96.)



ANGKOR VAT

(*A Viṣṇu Temple*)

identified with those given in the other inscriptions of Suryavarman II. Jayavarman VII, the only great monarch who ascended the Kambuja throne after Suryavarman II, and the characters of whose inscriptions are also square, was a fervent Mahâyâna Buddhist, and no trace of Mahâyânism can be found in Angkor Vat. Besides he was a warrior king whose feverish campaigns could not have given him the leisure to erect such a stupendous structure. Moreover his *nom d'apotheose* was Mahâ-paramasaugata as has been quite recently discovered. The legend, which ascribes the construction of Angkor Vat to the legendary king Prah Ket Mealea and its dedication to Buddha by that king on the occasion of the visit from Ceylon of the Hinayâna Buddhist saint and scholar Buddhaghoṣa, is clearly comparatively recent when Kambuja had become Hinayâna. The style of architecture and the ornamental work of Angkor Vat is decidedly considerably later than that of Angkor Thom (9th century). Thus it would be absurd to ascribe the temple to Jayavarman III whose posthumous name was Viṣṇuloka and who reigned from 869 to 877 A.D. It might also be considered that such a vast edifice could not have been built during a single reign. It is possible that the credit of being the architect of one of the most wonderful shrines of the world belongs to the last of the

great Brahmans of Kambuja, Divâkarapaṇḍita, who was the royal guru of three consecutive kings—Jayavarman VI, Dharanîndravarman I, and Suryavarman II. The inscriptions tell us of his ceaseless building activity during three reigns, of his quasi-royal status, and of his leaning towards Vaiṣṇavism.

Angkor Vat or Nokor Vat, the "temple of the city," is not oriented as usual. It faces the west, towards the road leading to the eastern gate of the capital Angkor Thom (Nagara Dhâma), and is at a distance of about a mile from the city. Not being cramped within a town, here everything is on a grand scale. The moat, which surrounds it on all sides, may well be called a lake, being nearly 700 ft. in width. The causeway ballustraded with seven-hooded Nâgas, which crosses the moat, is 36 feet broad. Then we reach the great rectangular stone wall, enclosing the temple, about $\frac{2}{3}$rds of a mile east to west and half a mile north to south.[1] The principal entrance on the western side has a façade somewhat more than a furlong in length and consists of three gates dominated by three imposing towers. The pediments are richly sculptured. From the threshold of the gate there is a superb perspective of the great shrine rising in three terraces. The causeway crossing the moat continues from the gate of the

[1] Aymonier, Histoire de l'Ancien Cambodge, 1920, p. 147.

enclosure to the temple porch inside—a distance of about two furlongs. It (the causeway) is 10 ft. above the ground, and is upheld by a line of round columns and paved with large stone slabs and bordered with Nâgas. On both sides is a park of palms. There are the two libraries here also one on each side of the causeway. Then we reach a spacious cruciform terrace by a staircase guarded by stone lions. After that is the portico, consisting of a group of symmetrically arranged chambers, flanked on both sides by a long gallery, adorned with bas-reliefs, which constitutes a rectangle (the length of whose four sides total half a mile) enclosing the shrine. The link between the first gallery and the second higher gallery is a square gallery with four deep tanks symmetrically arranged on both sides. A staircase takes us to the second gallery which is separated from the first by a lawn. Then another steep staircase leads to the third and last gallery, which has four towers at the four angles each 180 ft. high (from the ground level). Within the rectangle formed by the third gallery, at the point of intersection of two inner galleries running east to west and north to south, is the shrine (a small stone chamber) crowned by the central tower 213 ft. above the ground level. The image enshrined has disappeared long ago.

It should be noted that the first terrace rises about 11 ft. from the ground level, the second

terrace is about 22 ft. above the first and the third nearly 44 ft. above the second. From the third gallery we can look down on the roofs of the second gallery and of the first covered with tiles and adorned with finely curved eaves. The decorative work of Angkor Vat is worthy of its stupendous size. On the walls have been chiselled celestial nymphs, flowers, and ornamental designs like lacework. But this ornamental work, though artistic, is inferior to that of the Bayon.

The bas-reliefs of the first gallery call for special comment. The southern side of the first rectangle illustrates the court scenes of Kambuja and is of historical interest. The first scene represents queens and princesses, crowned with diadems, some in palanquins, others in chariots, passing through an orchard. Female servants hold umbrellas to shelter the royal ladies from the sun, fan them with huge fans, and pluck fruit from the trees to present to them. The next scene takes us to a hill-side and we see the body-guard of the king consisting of lancers and archers. In front of them are Brahmans with long hair, rings in their ears, sitting rather haughtily.[1] Three of them however are standing, and the central

[1] The description of the "galerie historique" is based on Aymonier's "Les inscriptions en vieux Khmer" in Journ. Asiatique, August-September, 1883, p. 199 *et seq.*

figure orders the two others to bring forward plates heaped with fruit. A brief inscription (in Khmer) tells us that this represents the offering of presents to the king by the Paṇḍitas. Another inscription tells us "His Majesty of the sacred feet, lord and master, Parama-Viṣṇuloka, on Mount Çivapâda, ordering the troops to be collected." Wearing a finely chiselled crown on his head, the king has heavy ornaments hanging from his ears. A necklace adorns his breast which is partly covered by a scarf worn crosswise. There are two bracelets on each arm, one above the elbow, and the other on the wrist. From a richly adorned belt hangs a dagger. In his hand he holds a curious object like a lizard which is probably a scent-bag or a purse. The attitude of the king seated on his throne is graceful and he looks majestic. This is certainly one of the best of the whole series of bas-reliefs. Fourteen umbrellas (chattras) are held above his head. Four châmaras and five great fans can also be noted. Then we see the ministers—the first is "the holy lord and master Vîrasimhavarman" (we are told so by an inscription) who presents to the king in kneeling posture a roll. Next to him is "the lord and master (Kamraten An), the Chief (*i. e.*, the Prime Minister), Çri Varddhana." Then appears "the lord and master" Dhanañjaya. After him—"the holy lord and master of merits and faults

—the fourth." So this is the fourth minister who is the Chief Justice. The Khmer Cabinet consisted of four ministers and at present there are also four ministers. Probably the holy title (Vrah) signifies a Brahman. The ministers have no ear-rings and the bust in each case is uncovered. They held their right hands on their chests. Behind the ministers are generals with helmets on their heads and wearing armour.

The next scene shows us the march past of the generals—each with his escort. (1) Vrah Kamraten An Çri Jayendra Varmana Ldau. This general clad in armour stands on his elephant with his left foot on the howdah and his right foot on the croup of the animal. There is a javelin on his shoulder and in his left hand a shield. Ten umbrellas proclaim his rank. His escort wear helmets with dragons and other fantastic figures on their crests. Four horsemen ride in front of him. (2) Vrah Kamraten An Çri Vîrendrâdhipati Varman Chok Vakula (this noble has been identified with the builder of the Phimai shrine in 1108 A. D.). He also stands on his elephant, phgâk (a weapon like a chopper) in hand, with two daggers strapped at the back of his left shoulder. (3) Then follow two Sañjaks (chiefs who have devoted their lives to the king)—Vîrayuddhavarman with bow and arrows and Jayayuddhavarman with

the phgâk. The former has for ensign a statuette of Garuḍa fixed on a long handle and the latter a figure of Hanumân. (4) Next comes the lord Mahipatîndra Varman Canlattai (cactus). (5) Then after five Sañjaks comes the lord Dhanañjaya—the minister whom we have already seen in the royal audience scene—and the next is the king himself—Vrah pâda Kamraten An Parama-Viṣṇuloka who is followed by the prime minister Çri-Varddhana. Besides the waist-band, which is usually tied over the dhoti with its two ends floating in the air, these three eminent personages have an additional ornamental band with its ends hanging loose. The king also stands on his elephant, with two daggers strapped to his shoulder, one in his waist-band, and a fourth where the two baldrics cross one another in the middle of his chest, which is protected by armour. He holds a phgâk in his right hand The royal elephant also wears a huge diadem on its head. The ensign carried before him represents the image of Viṣṇu mounted on a Garuḍa. (6) After two Sañjaks appears the "Râjahotâ, the royal sacrificer, carried in a palanquin. His dress, and the dress of the other Brahmans accompanying him, consists only of a very short loin-cloth and a double baldric. They wear earrings like the king, whereas the warriors have no ear-ornaments, though the lobes of their ears are bored for wearing them.

This means probably that it was a sacred procession in which earrings could be worn only by the Brahmans and the king. After some Brahmans, who are ringing bells, the sacred fire (Vrah Vlen) is carried in an ark by men with close-cropped hair. Trumpets and conches are blown. An enormous cymbal is struck with two mallets. Two buffoons dance in a grotesque fashion. The ensign-bearers seem to play with their ensigns. (7) Then the scene seems to change. After some Sañjaks we see Jaya Simha Varma, in the forests, leading the troops of Lvo (Lopburi in Siam). (8) The next figure is designated Neh Syâm Kuk, probably some Siamese chief, of strange and uncouth appearance with his followers. Their hair is arranged in several tiers and is decked with chaplets. From the waist-band of the chief are suspended ornaments which fall over a heavy skirt. His followers have their cheeks tattooed and look like savages. (9) The last of this series is "the representative of the king—Paman Jen Jhala leading Syâm (Siam) Kuk (troops ?)." Perhaps the last four scenes represent the foreign levies returning home after the review, which was probably held in connection with the sacred festival.

A new series [1] begins of the Last Judgment held by Yama, assisted by Citragupta, followed

[1] M. Coedès, Les Bas-reliefs d'Angkor Vat (1911), p. 43.

by scenes of heaven and hell, carefully annotated by short Khmer inscriptions. A few examples would suffice, (1) "Kriminicaya (the hell of worms). Those—who insult the gods, the sacred fire, the gurus, the Brahmans, the learned, the teachers of the dharma (Buddhist âcâryas ?), the devotees of Çiva, their mothers, their fathers and their friends." (2) "Kûtaçâlmalî (hanging from a thorny tree). The persons who give false evidence." (3) "Asthibhanga (breaking of bones). The people who do damage to gardens, houses, tanks, wells, tirthas, etc." (4) "Krakaccheda (cutting with the saw). The gluttons." (5) "Kumbhîpâka (the hell of cauldrons). Those—who have betrayed a charge entrusted to them by the king, who steal the wealth of gurus or of the poor people or of learned Brahmans." (6) "Raurava (pan of live coals). Those who do not pay their debts." There are 32 different hells depicted, which seems to be a traditional Buddhist number.

There are 37 scenes of heaven. It is curious to note that while the hell-scenes are depicted with great vivacity, the scenes of paradise are quite lifeless, tame and monotonous. We see the happy denizens of heaven attired like kings or queens, in aerial vimânas (towers), surrounded by attendants who offer them fruits and flowers, babies and mirrors.

The Khmer explanatory legends now come

to an end, and we pass on to the reliefs representing scenes from the Râmâyaṇa, Mahâbhârata, and Harivaṃça. One point to be carefully noted is the predominant part given to Viṣṇu (and his Râma and Kriṣṇa incarnations)in these reliefs.[1] Thus we have in the beginning the battlefield of Kurukṣetra (a Mahâbhârata scene) with Kriṣṇa and Arjuna in the front rank of the fighting warriors. Then follow eleven episodes of the Râmâyaṇa. Five exploits of Kriṣṇa [2] appear next. Then we have four scenes in which Viṣṇu is the central figure.[3] Four other scenes follow which cannot be identified but where we can make out Viṣṇu. Finally we have three scenes devoted to Çiva legends,[4] one of which is taken from the Râmâyaṇa. This preponderance of Vaiṣṇava scenes, coupled with the *nom d'apotheose* Parama-Viṣṇuloka of the king who is the central figure in the "historic gallery," leads to the conclusion that Angkor Vat was originally a Viṣṇu temple.

Among the Râma reliefs may be noticed the death of the Râkṣasa Virâdha, Râma pursuing Mârica, the death of the Râkṣasa Kabandha, the alliance of Râma with Sugrîva, the duel between

1 M. Coedès, Les Bas-reliefs d'Angkor Vat, p. 49.

2 The breaking of the twin trees, the raising of Mount Govardhana, the fight with Bâṇa, the Maniparvata and Naraka episodes.

3 Viṣṇu sleeping on Çeṣanâga, the churning of the ocean, etc.

4 Kâma burnt by Çiva, Râvaṇa shaking Çiva's abode, etc.

Sugrîva and Bâli, Hanumân finding Sîtâ at Laṅkâ, the Laṅkâ battlefield, etc., ending with the return of Râma in the aerial chariot Puṣpaka. The first six scenes are also found in the Râma reliefs of Prambânan in Central Java, a temple of the 9th century A.D. The Prambânan reliefs are decidedly superior in artistic merit, though they do not follow Vâlmîki's Râmâyaṇa closely. Another point of difference is that at Angkor Vat the relief is so low that at first sight it seems as if the figures are incised as in Egypt. Again the Angkor sculptor like Nature abhors a vacuum. If there is the smallest empty space he would introduce there a bird or a plant. This rather spoils the effect. The Javanese artist knew better and avoided overcrowding of figures. The Javanese sculptor is as much superior to the sculptor of Kambuja as the architect of Kambuja is superior to the Javanese architect. The Javanese temples including Borubudur cannot stand comparison with the shrines of Kambuja.

Such is Angkor Vat which was rediscovered by the French naturalist Henri Mouhot in 1860. Wonder-struck at the quite unexpected sight of this colossal temple, in the midst of an impenetrable jungle, he wrote that it was the most wonderful structure in the world, the like of which Greece or Rome had never built. Later visitors compared it to an Assyrian temple. And

by a strange irony of fate, though a wealth of material brought to light since then has restored the history of Kambuja, the origin of Angkor Vat, the first monument to be discovered, still remains enveloped in mystery.

കേരള സാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

CHAPTER IX.

The Last Monarchs of Kambuja.

Our sole authority for the immediate successors of Sûryavarman II is the inscription of Ta Prohm,[1] which contains a genealogy of Jayavarman VII, the last of the great monarchs of Kambuja. Here the king's maternal grandfather Harṣavarman is mentioned as a king of Kambuja "who spread the canopy of his glory beyond the points of the compass." This is all that we know of Harṣavarman, who is supposed to be descended from the sister of Çrutavarman, the first king of Kambuja.

The inscription of Non Van (in Laos), the last Khmer inscription we possess, seems to indicate the existence of a Jayavarman who reigned about 1090 ç.e. (1163 A. D.)—this being the date of the inscription. It is a royal order addressed to several high officials and priests, asking them to look after the upkeep of the monasteries (devâçramas) in the region of Ratnapura. The names and the titles of the officials (who are styled Kamratan An) and the priests and their posts are interesting. They are as follows :—

" Râjendravarman, general of the army of the

[1] Ed. by M. Coedès, B.E.F.E. O., t. vi, p. 45 *et seq.*

centre (it is noteworthy that one of the generals in the bas-reliefs of Angkor Vat bears this name); Travan Tannot ('pond of palms'), the president of the court; Kavîndrâlaya, the professor (adhyâpaka); Yogîçvara Paṇḍita Bhagavân, the priest in charge during the second fortnights of the month, Nirvâṇa Bhagavan in charge of the mid-day service of the second fortnight."[1] The order is also addressed to other generals, astrologers, keepers of the sacred registers, treasurers, and officials in charge of the royal magazines for both the fortnights. The inscription is Çaiva. It is likely that the date of this inscription is wrongly given and in that case the King Jayavarman mentioned here would be Jayavarman VII himself. For in the Ta Prohm inscription only Jayavarman VI, the grand-uncle of Sûryavarman II, is mentioned.

Dharaṇîndravarman II.

With Dharaṇîndravarman II, the father of Jayavarman VII, we come back again to *terra firma*. The genealogy of the Ta Prohm inscription traces his descent from the sister of Jayavarman VI. This prince marries the daughter of Harṣavarman, IV who has the rather masculine name of Çri Jayarâjacuḍâmaṇi. Dharaṇîndravarman II is described here as a devout Buddhist.

[1] Aymonier, Le Cambodge, t. II, p. 111.

"Having obtained satisfaction in the nectar-like teachings of the moon of the Çâkya race (Buddha), having devoted his life to the service of Bhikṣus, Brahmans, and others who asked for his help, desiring to extract the essence (of life) with the aid of this impure and unsubstantial body, he adored ceaselessly the feet of the Jina.[1]

His reign however witnessed a calamity unprecedented in the history of Kambuja. Ma-tou-an-lin, the famous Chinese historian and encyclopedist, writes in his notice of Chen-ching (Champa):—[2]"In 1171 A.D. there was a (Chinese) Mandarin whose ship was driven by a storm to Chen-ching. This kingdom was then at war with Chen-la (Kambuja). On both sides elephants were used in the fighting. The Mandarin advised the king of Chen-ching to have horsemen with bows and cross-bows trained to shoot volleys of arrows while charging the enemy. The success of this scheme was immediate."

The Champa fleet, guided by a shipwrecked Chinese, according to the Chinese historian, reached the mouth of the great river (Mekong), sailed up to the Khmer capital, which it took by surprise and sacked, and then retired with an immense booty.[3] A damaged Champa inscription refers to the victorious campaign of Jaya

[1] Stanza 17 (Ta Prohm inscr.) B.E.F.E.O, t. vi, p. 52.

[2] Wen hien tong kao translated by Marquis Hervey de Saint Denys

[3] Song Che.

Indravarman IV.[1] Dharaṇîndravarman II left to his son and successor Jayavarman VII the task of exacting vengeance.

During this reign there existed friendly relations between Kambuja and distant Ceylon. In the Mahâvaṃça[2] we find that "the king of Râmâṇya arrested and imprisoned the Ceylonese envoys pretending that they were sent to Kambuja and also seized a princess of the royal blood whom the lord of Laṅkâ (King Parâkrama Bâhu of Ceylon who reigned from 1164 to 1197 A.D.) had sent to the country of Kambuja." The Ceylonese ruler punished the Burmese king Arimaddana for this insult by a successful raid on the port Kusumi in Râmâṇya. And it may have been for this very reason that Jayavarman VII, as mentioned in the Chinese chronicles, conquered Pegu towards the end of the 12th century. Probably the Ceylonese princess was sent as a bride for him when he was the crown prince.

Jayavarman VII—a Great Buddhist Sovereign.

Jayavarman VII succeeded his father in 1104 ç.e. (1182 A.D.).[4] Though he ascended the throne shortly after the disastrous defeat suffered

[1] Bergaigne, L'Ancien Royaume du Cambodge, p. 87.

[2] Transl. by Wijesṃha, Ch. 76, pp. 229, 230 (Ed. 1889).

[4] This date is given in the inscription of the hospital of Kuk Roka (Finot, Notes d'Epigraphie, B.E.F.E.O., t. xv, no. 2, p. 108).

by Kambuja at the hands of Champa, yet by his warlike prowess he succeeded in winning a position for his country, which perhaps even Fu-nan had not attained in her palmiest days.

The Ta Prohm inscription [1] traces the descent of Jayavarman's mother Çrî Jayarâjacûḍamaṇi from Çrutavarman, the first Kambuja king, and Bhavavarman who conquered Funan. After that the king's father Dharaṇîndravarman is mentioned and his kinship with Jayavarman VI and Sûryavarman II is described. The invocation is Buddhist and quite orthodox in tone. The Buddha, who is the refuge for all creation, is adored; then the path of Bodhi, by which an unobstructed view of the meaning of the created world can be attained, is honoured; after that the Sangha, which though free from all attachment (attachment being an obstacle to salvation), is always attached to the task of seeking the welfare of others, is mentioned; and finally Lokeçvara (Avalokiteçvara), the living incarnation of the celestial tree, the fruits of which satisfy all the desires of the three worlds, is invoked. Stanzas 19 to 28 give the praçasti (eulogy) of the king of which only the last (28) contains historical information. Here we are told:—"The other kings, having heard of his glorious career that he (Jayavarman) had gone

[1] B.E.F.E.O., t. vi. p. 44.

to Champa and had captured in battle the king of the country and had then released him, accepted with folded hands (the like clemency)..." We know from Champa inscriptions and from Chinese sources that Jayavarman VII reduced Champa to submission and made it a dependency of Kambuja for about thirty years. The inscription goes on to enumerate the favours conferred by the king on his guru and the guru's family whom he raised to a royal status. "To their descendants the title of Senâpati was given as if they had been the descendants of kings."[1] In stanza 35 Jayavarman VII is stated to have founded the town of Râjavibhâra and to have dedicated it to the maintenance of the 'Mother of the Lord of the Munis.' Then we are told that he erected a statue of his mother adorned with gems, and that this was the image of the Mother of Jina (*i.e.*, Prajñâpâramitâ). So the king's mother was identified with Prajñâpâramitâ—the mother of the Buddhas. He also erected the statue of his guru surrounded by 260 divine images. Then follows a list (in stanzas 38-44) of the daily offering to these images consisting of rice, sesame, mudga (a kind of lentil—"moog" in Bengali), kanku (millet), ghi, dahi (curds), milk, honey, molasses (guḍa), oil of sesame, oil of taruphala (taraminga in Bengali ?)

[1] Stanza 33.

clothing, and Chinese silk for mosquito curtains for the images of the deities. In stanza 45 is given the amount of rice for the consumption of those who lived with the professor and lecturer (in the temple precincts). In the next stanza is given the amounts of provisions for the 18 festivals held every year and for the 8th, 14th and 15th day of the two fortnights (the uposatha). In the stanzas 53-58 are given the contributions (of provisions) to be demanded from the villages, and in the following three stanzas the supplies of cloth, wax, lead, etc., to be taken from the weavers, markets, etc. In the stanzas 62-80 are enumerated the donations of the king himself and the landlords which consist of 3,140 villages.[1] "There are here 12,640 persons in all who have the right to live (in the precincts of the temple). 66,625 men and women serve the gods. The total comes up to 79,365 persons including the Burmese and the Champa (prisoners)." This confirms the statement, made by several Chinese chroniclers, that about 1295 A.D. Pukan (Pagan)[2] was annexed by Jayavarman VII to his kingdom which already included Champa.

In stanzas 68-75 are mentioned the presents of enormous quantities of gold (used for

[1] Stanza 65-67.

[2] Probably it means Pegu here as Pegu was a dependency of Pagan at this period and also touched the western frontier of Kambuja.

decorating the buildings and for sacred utensils) and silver, 35 diamonds and 40,620 pearls, 4,540 other precious stones such as cat's eyes, gems of red and other colours, a big cauldron of gold, a small quantity of chalk and a huge quantity of lead. Then follows an account of buildings of which 566 were stone structures.

In stanza 82 it is said that 970 persons (students) live with the lecturer.

Stanzas 83 to 89 describe the spring-time festival, from the Caitra "aṣṭamî" to the full-moon of that month, celebrated every year according to the Buddhist traditions. Two sacrifices (yâgas) were to be performed at that time. On the 14th of the waxing moon Bhagavan should thrice make the pradakṣiṇâ with Bhagavatî, and on the full-moon night together with the gods Vira, Çakti and others. Dancers and dancing girls should dance on all sides, and men should practise the good qualities (pâramitâs enjoined by Buddhism) such as chastity and good conduct. Offerings should be made to the three gurus, to the thousand devatâs and to the 619 divinities that were there. 1,000 learned persons such as Bhikṣus and Brahmans should be entertained. Then follows a list of the articles to be taken from the royal magazines for this purpose. It includes such heterogeneous things as rings, gold, blankets, ivory stools, perfume boxes, pine resin, wax, rice, curds, and other provisions,

Chinese beds of grass, mosquito curtains, scents known as taruṣka (or turuṣka), nakha, etc.

Hospitals in Different Provinces.

In the 117th stanza we find: "There are 102 hospitals (ârogyaçâlâ) in the different provinces, and 798 shrines are established there (*i.e.*, in the kingdom). For the use of the invalids and for those dwelling in these shrines 117,200 khârikâs[1] of rice are to be given annually.

We get some other interesting statistics, *e.g.*, the villages, contributing to the upkeep of the hospitals and shrines, number 838. The men and women in service there number 81,640. Then in the stanzas 120-140 are enumerated the articles to be taken every year from the royal magazines (for the use of the invalids and for those dwelling in the shrines). These include besides provisions, wax, honey, long pepper (pippali), ajowan, nutmegs, acids (kṣâra), two kinds of camphor, dandansa (a fish ?), çatapuṣpa (aniseed), cardamoms, coreander, cloves, deodar, a paste of ten roots, dried ginger, asafoetida, 1,960 little boxes of medicine for piles, garlic, etc.

Finally the king expresses the wish: "By these good actions of mine may my mother,

1 One Khârikâ = 128 seers.

delivered from the ocean of (future) existences, attain the state of Buddha."

In the last (145) stanza it is stated that Çri Sûryakumâra, the son of the king Çrî Jaya-varman, had made this praçasti in honour of the Great Goddess (Prajñâpâramitâ with whom the mother of Jayavarman was supposed to be identified).

An inscription recently discovered at Phimeanakas [1] gives us interesting details about the queens of Jayavarman VII. His first queen, Jayarâjadevî, was the daughter of a Brahman. She had been educated by her elder sister Indradevî, a fervent Buddhist and a very learned lady, who taught the scriptures in three convents. The king appreciated her talents and on the death of her sister made her his principal queen. It was she who composed this Sanscrit inscription of Phimeanakas.

About ten of the hospital inscriptions of Jayavarman VII have been discovered. The same text,[2] with a few variations, have been used in all these. The invocation is addressed to Buddha in the three aspects of nirmâṇa, dharma and sambhoga kâyas, who is beyond existence and non-existence, and who is impersonal.

[1] Inscriptions d'Angkore-par L. Finot, B.E.F.E.O.., t. xxv, Nos. 3-4, p. 372.

[2] Inscription of Say-Fong (Finot, Notes d'Epigraphie, B.E.F,E.O., t. iii, No. I).

Then follows an invocation to Buddha Bhaiṣajya-guru (the Master Physician) and to Bodhisattvas Sûryavairocana-candaroci and Candravairocana-rohiṇîça who dispel the darkness of sickness. These two are well known as patron saints of the art of healing in China, Tibet and Japan. After that is the eulogy of Jayavarman VII. In the 13th stanza (Say-fong inscr.) it is stated : "The bodily pain of men became in him (King Jayavarman) a pain of the soul and was more painful to him than to the actual invalids, for it is the suffering of the State which makes the suffering of the kings and not their own pain." In the next (14) stanza we have : "With the help of the physicians, the warriors versed in the science of the arms of medicine, he (the king) destroyed the enemies of the kingdom—the maladies." We learn from the next stanzas that the hospital was built round a temple of Buddha Bhaiṣajya (the Physician) and that it was open to all the four castes. The employees were of two classes : (I) those who had their lodgings in the hospital buildings (sthitidâyinaḥ), and (2) those who lived outside (sthitidâḥ). The personnel of the first class consisted of the following : two doctors, three servants for the doctors, two store-keepers, two cooks, two sacrificers, fourteen nurses, eight women—two of whom pounded rice. Of the second class there were 66. Then follows a list of the

articles, mostly medicines, to be given from the royal magazines to each patient. Finally the inhabitants of the locality (near the hospital) were granted some privileges. They were exempted from paying taxes and from the corvée. They were to be punished only in case of cruelty to living creatures.

There is a bilingual inscription in Sanscrit and Khmer found at Phimeanakas which, on account of its square letters, should also be attributed to this reign. It is addressed to a sacred açvattha tree and is a curious combination of Buddhism and Brahmanism :—"Oh sacred mahâbodhi (the tree under which Buddha attained salvation), whose root is Brahmâ, whose trunk is Çiva, and whose branches are Viṣṇu..... May thunder never strike thee, may the axe never touch thee."[1]

Conquest of Champa and Pagan.

Champa inscriptions[2] tells us that Jayavarman VII conquered the whole country, seized the capital of Champa in 1112 ç.e. (1190 A.D.) and placed there a military governor.

Ma-touan-lin in his chapter on Chin-la[3] says that the king of that realm took an awful revenge for the sack of his capital by Chen-

[1] M. Coedès, Etudes Cambodgiennes, B.E.F.E.O., t. xviii, p. ii.

[2] Inscr. of Po Nagar, 409 B. 4

[3] Ethnographie des peuples etrangers a la Chine, par Ma-touan-lin, traduit par M. D'Hervey de Saint Denys.

ching (Champa) by invading that country, dethroning its prince, and putting in his place one of his own subjects. Since then Chen-ching has remained a feudatory state of Chin-la.

Chou Ju-kua in his Chu-fan-chi mentions Champa and Pukam (Pagan) definitely among the 12 dependencies of Chen-la (Kambuja). Aymonier quotes other Chinese historians as stating that towards the end of the 12th century Pukam (Pagan) was annexed to Chen-la.[1] Probably by Pukam is meant here Pegu which was a dependency of Pagan. Pegu being so near the western frontier of Kambuja (which included Siam) would be easier to be overrun than Pagan.[2] Two other states Chen-li and Tenglieou-ma (in the Malay Peninsula) were also annexed to Kambuja. Thus under Jayavarman VII, the Kambuja frontiers extended on the east to the China Sea, and on the west to the Bay of Bengal, and on the south far down into the Malay Peninsula.[3] This very expansion must have been a heavy strain on the resources of the State and probably was one of the causes of the rapid decline and fall of the Khmer kingdom which we now have to witness.

[1] Aymonier, Le Cambodge, t. iii, p. 528.

[2] An Annamite chronicle mentions at this period an inroad of Cambodian troops (on the Annam frontier) which included Siamese and Burmese contingents. (Maspero, Champa, p. 227.)

[3] For in the reign of Suryavarman II it already included Grâhi near the Bay of Bandon.

Jayavarman VII died about 1112 ç.e. (1202 A.D.). He had the Buddhist posthumous name of Mahâ-paramasaugata.

The inscription of the temple of Mangalârtha, which was discovered only in 1924 (and which has been edited by M. Finot in 1926, B.E.F.E.O., t. xxv, no. 3-4, p. 393), gives us the information, which was lacking up to this time, on the successors of Jayavarman VII. We learn from it that a learned Brâhmana of the name of Hriṣîkeça of the Bharadvâja gotra, who lived in a country called Narapati-deça (Burma? —where at this time was reigning Narapatisithu), hearing that a knowledge of the Vedas (which he had thoroughly mastered) was highly esteemed in Kambuja, came to that kingdom. He was made a royal purohita by Jayavarman VII with the title of Çrî Jaya Mahâpradhâna. On the death of Indravarman II, the son and successor of Jayavarman VII, this Brâhmana went on a pilgrimage to the Çiva temple of Bhimapura to pray for the çânti (peaceful repose) of the soul of the deceased king. There (at Bhimapura) he married a young maiden, belonging to a Çaiva family, whose name was Çrîprabhâ. His second daughter by Çrîprabhâ became the queen of Jayavarman VIII and assumed the title of Cakravarti-râja-devî. Subhadrâ, the younger sister of Çrîprabhâ, married the "prince of professors" (adhyâpakâdhipa)

Maṅgalârtha. Their son Mahanâtha was a learned grammarian and was also a "prince of professors" during the reign of Indrajayavarman. The king Jayavarman VIII erected his statue together with that of his mother Subhadrâ in the capital. Later on he dedicated a temple in their honour. This temple received further donations from the two successors of Jayavarman VIII, Çrî Indravarman and Çrî Indra-Jayavarman.

Thus we learn from this inscription that after Jayavarman VII ruled Indravarman II (1201-1243 A. D.). After him came Jayavarman VIII (posthumous name Parameçvara) who ruled from 1243-1295 A. D. Jayavarman VIII was succeeded by Çrîndravarman—the contemporary of Cheou Ta-kouan.

Meanwhile the decline of Kambuja had begun. Chinese authors tell us that about 1220 A. D. Champa had to be evacuated. The Siamese also threw off the yoke of Kambuja, and according to one of their early inscriptions, were busy effacing all traces of Brahmanism in their country.

Cheou Ta-kouan in Kambuja.

Yet up to the end of the 13th century Kambuja was known to the Chinese as a land of fabulous wealth. It did not send tribute to the Imperial Court when, in the latter half of the 13th

century, the Mongol Emperor Kublai Khan was aspiring to the sovereignty of the whole Eastern world. When in 1283 Champa was invaded by the Chinese, two envoys were sent to Kambuja to demand allegiance to the Emperor. As this mission failed, an ambassador was despatched to Kambuja in 1296 A. D. Cheou Ta-kouan, the author of the memoirs on Kambuja customs,[1] accompanied the Chinese ambassador. Though Cheou Ta-kouan says that the embassy succeeded in achieving its purpose, a Chinese historian writes in 1520 that neither Java nor Kambuja paid homage to the Imperial Court even once during the Yuan (Mongol) period.

Cheou Ta-kouan, who by the by was not an official, calls the country, which he visited, Chen-la, though he says that the native name was Kan-po-che (Kambuja). The capital he calls "the City." Was it already called Nagara which later on became Nokor or Angkor? His description of the moat, the city wall, the five gates, the Nâga parapets on the bridges, etc., closely corresponds with what is still to be seen at Angkor Thom. He however says that the gates were crowned with five representations of human heads, four on each side and one in the middle, the middle one being gilded. The towers now only show four heads—yet, as they are the representations

[1] The Chen la fong t'ou ki. Memoires sur les coutumes du Cambodge, translated by M. Pelliot, B. E. F. E. O., t. ii, p. 1.

of Çiva's head, there ought to be five (pañcânana) instead of four. Probably the fifth one in the middle was constructed of a more perishable material and has disappeared everywhere. It is curious that Cheou Ta-kouan calls these heads the heads of Buddha.[1]

He says that criminals with their toes cut off could not enter the city gates. In the centre of the capital he describes a golden tower flanked by more than a score of towers of stone. This evidently was the Bayon. To the north of it at a distance of one li ($\frac{1}{4}$th of a mile) was a tower of copper higher than the golden tower. This is to be identified with the Bapuon. Another li to the north was the palace where there was another tower of gold (Phimeanakas). To the east there was a golden bridge with two golden lions on each side and eight golden Buddhas in altars of stone. Then he says that these monuments were the source of the stories of the wealth and magnificence of Kambuja which merchants circulated in China.

It is very curious that he calls Angkor Vat a tomb which was supposed to have been erected in one night by Lou Pan (the Chinese god of architects). Lou Pan here stands for Viçvakarmâ —the Hindu Vulcan. We have seen the posthumous name Viṣṇuloka of a king in the Angkor Vat

[1] Avalokiteçvara is sometimes represented in such a way as to be mistaken for Çiva. It may be that Cheou Ta-kuan was right and that these were the heads of Avalokiteçvara.

inscriptions. Were his ashes also buried there? In Java such funereal temples are common.

In the eastern lake (Yaçodhara-taṭâka) he mentions a bronze recumbent figure of the Buddha from whose navel gushed out a constant flow of water. In the northern lake he describes a square tower of gold, a golden Buddha, a golden lion, and a bronze elephant, horse, and bull.

The palace was to the north of the golden tower and of the golden bridge. The tiles of the private apartments were of lead. The piers of the bridge were enormous and there were images of Buddha sculptured on them. The buildings were magnificent but the long verandahs and the covered corridors were not symmetrical. The window frames of the council chamber were golden. To the right and left were square columns on which there were about 50 mirrors. The interior of the palace was said to be more wonderful but no one could enter there. Then Cheou Ta-kouan tells the story how the Nâgi ancestress appeared every night in the guise of a fair lady in the golden tower inside the palace.

The official rank of each determined the size and structure of his house. The common people did not dare use tiles for their roofs which were thatched.

"Every one has his or her hair tied up in a knot....They have only a loin cloth but, when

they go out, they use a scarf....The best cloth of the finest texture came across the western seas." (Ramusio writes in the middle of the 16th century that there was a great demand in Kambuja for Bengal muslin.)

"The king wears a necklace of big pearls and jewelled bracelets and anklets. He goes barefoot and the soles of his feet and the palms of his hands are dyed red....Among the people, only the women can dye their feet and hands."

"In the higher posts generally princes are employed. The highest officials use palanquins with a golden pole and four umbrellas with golden handles.."

Then the three religions are mentioned :—

"The learned are called Pan-ki (Pandit); the monks are called Ch'ou-kou (which is still the name for Siamese Hînayâna monks), and the Taoists are called Pa-sseu-wei (pâçupatas ?).

The distinctive mark of the Pan-ki is a white thread round their necks—which is never discarded (the upavîta). The Pan-kis, who enter into service, reach the highest offices.

"The Ch'ou-kou shave their heads, wear yellow garments and keep the right shoulders uncovered and go barefoot. They eat fish and meat but do not drink wine. They also offer fish and meat to Buddha. The texts, which they recite, are very numerous and are written on palm leaves. Some of these monks have

palanquins with a golden pole and a gold-handled umbrella and the king consults them about serious affairs. There are no Buddhist nuns." It is remarkable that at the end of the 13th century Buddhist monks were known in Kambuja by a Siamese name. This shows that Hînayâna Buddhism was in the ascendance at this time and that it came from Siam.

"The Pa-sseu-wei (Pâçupata ?) tie up their hair with a red or white cloth. Their temples are smaller than the Buddhist shrines; for Taoism (Hinduism) is not so prosperous as Buddhism. The Pa-sseu-wei worship only a block of stone (the linga). There are Taoist nuns. The Taoists do not take their food from other people, nor do they eat in public."

"The children of the laity, who go to school, come to the monks who instruct them. They return to the lay life when they are older."

"The inhabitants are fat and are very dark... We must go to the palace people or to the ladies of noble families to find a white complexion like that of jade. Generally women as well as men keep the upper part of the body uncovered, dress up their hair in a knot, and go barefoot. ...Even the queens go like this. The king has five queens and numerous concubines....The king comes out with his principal queen and sits at the golden window of his private apartment. The people of the palace stand in rows

under the window, on both sides of the verandah, and see the monarch one after another .."

"Usually deer-skin of a black colour is used for writing...With sticks made of a white powder they write on the parchment..."

"...Their first month 'kia-to '(kârtika=Khmer kâdâk) corresponds to the tenth month of the Chinese..." In front of the palace, on New Year's evening, there is a display of fireworks. The king, with the foreign ambassadors, comes to see it. ...In the 5th month the images of Buddha are brought from all parts of the kingdom and they are bathed in the presence of the sovereign....In the seventh month after the rice harvest they burn rice in honour of Buddha....In the eighth month there is music and dancing and boar and elephant fights... In the ninth month there is the 'ya-lie' which is celebrated by the people passing in a procession before the palace.

"In this country there were people who understood astronomy and could calculate the eclipses of the sun and the moon...." Certain days of the week were considered auspicious. On certain days one should travel towards the east and on other days towards the west. Even the women could make these calculations. Then Cheou Ta-kouan describes the system of a cycle of twelve years, each year being designated by the name of an animal (a Chinese practice). But the names of these animals

were different from the Chinese names. At present however they are exactly identical with the Chinese names of the animals.

"Even the petty cases of the peeple came for hearing before the sovereign....In very grave cases the criminal was buried alive in a ditch.... A person suspected of theft had to plunge his hands into boiling oil and it should suffer no injury if he was innocent....There were a dozen small towers in front of the palace. The two adversaries in a law-suit, which was difficult to decide, would sit each on a tower. He, whose case was unjust, would, after the first, second or third day, show symptoms of some malady, while the other would not suffer in the least...

"The people frequently get ill—which is due to the too frequent baths they take." Cheu Ta-kouan even ascribes leprosy to too frequent baths. He mentions a leper king.

"In this country three to four harvests are gathered in one year...Animal manure is not used to fertilise the soil, it is despised as impure..."

"The most precious products are the plumes of the king-fisher, ivory, the horn of the rhinoceros, and wax...The more common are cardamoms, gamboge (the resin of a tree), the oil of Lucraban seeds, etc."

"In this country the women carry on trade... Gold and Chinese silver are most highly prized and, next in order of importance, are imports

from China such as silk stuffs, tin, porcelain, vermillion, paper, saltpetre, etc. Wheat is in great demand, but export of wheat is prohibited in China..."

"Every village has its temple or stûpa. However few may be the number of inhabitants, they have a police officer called mai-tsie (the Khmer name of the village headman is me srok). On the highways they have rest-houses. In the recent war with the Siamese the country has been devastated."

Finally Cheou Ta-kouan mentions that the new king (of Kambuja) was the son-in-law of the late king. The latter loved his daughter, who managed to get the golden sword (the sword of state) and gave it to her husband. The son of the late king tried to resist, but his brother-in-law imprisoned him.

Çrîndravarman.

"This king was Çrîndravarman (1296-1307 A.D.) who had succeeded his father-in-law Jaya-varman VIII. It was during his reign that a shrine, one of the most finished examples of Khmer art, *viz.*, the temple of Tribhuvana-Maheçvara, at Īçvarapura (Bantel Srei), was built about 16 miles north-east of Angkor The inscriptions of that temple, recently deciphered, prove that Kambuja architecture and sculpture

were still flourishing at the beginning of the 14th century. Nevertheless the kingdom was already in great danger of Siamese invasions." [1] It is interesting that the inscription of Bantei Srei confirms the statement of Cheou Ta-kouan in a passage—where the Earth is congratulated on having been delivered by a young king "from the thorns and brambles which had grown up" during the reign of an old king. It is expressly stated that the old king ceded his throne to his son-in-law Çrîndravarman.

The Last Inscriptions.

Çrîndravarman was succeeded in 1307 A.D. by Çrîndrajayavarman.[2] The inscription of Angkor Vat, which is badly damaged and bears no date, throws a dubious light on the last rulers of Kambuja. It is the last of our Sanscrit inscriptions and probably belongs to the middle of the 14th century A.D.[3] The script shows distinct deterioration, but the language is fairly correct though not so polished as in the inscriptions of Yaçovarman. It is fervently Çaiva in tone. It commemorates a donation by Jayavarmaparameçvara (who probably succeeded Çrîndrajayavarman about the middle of the 14th century

[1] M. Finot, Hindu Kingdoms in Indo-China, in the "Indian Historical Quarterly," December, 1925.

[2] Inscriptions d'Angkor, B.E.F.E.O., t. xxv, p. 395.

[3] I.S.C.C., p. 560.

A.D.) to an âçrama founded by his hotâ Vidyeçadhîmat, the priest of Bhadreçvara. We are told that Sarvajñamuni, one of the predecessors of this priest, came from Âryadeça (North India ?). Another predecessor of this priest, Vidyeçavid, was the hotâ of Jayavarman VIII and performed the abhiṣeka ceremony of his successor Çrîndravarman. On the death of Vidyeçavid, another Brahman, whose name has disappeared, became the hotâ of the king (Çrîndravarman) and erected a statue of the Ganges on the banks of the Yaçodhara lake.[1]

Quite recently has been discovered at Angkor Vat a few lines in incorrect Sanscrit on a pillar on which are sculptured images of the Buddha. Its interest lies in the fact that it shows that at this period (which from the incorrect Sanscrit and the uncouth appearance of the sculptures must be late 14th century or early 15th century A.D.), the cult of Avalokiteçvara (and therefore Mahâyâna Buddhism) still survived the triumphant progress of Hînayâna Buddhism which came in from Siam. For on this pillar occurs the name of Âryâvalokeçvara which is a corrupt form of Ârya Avalokiteçvara. There is also a mention of Âryadevî (Prajñâ-pâramitâ) and her image too can be traced on the pillar.[2]

[1] I.S.C.C., p. 572 (stanza 49) and p. 574 (stanzas 62, 63, 66).

[2] B.E.F.E.O., t. xxv, p. 406.

Probably during the 15th century the Khmer kings, unable to resist the Siamese advance, left Angkor and withdrew further into the interior. On the south-east an even more terrible enemy, the Annamites, who had overthrown Champa, were working havoc in the realm of Kambuja. The age of inscriptions, the most glorious period of Khmer history, now comes to a close. The age of chronicles, which shows the once mighty kingdom of Kambuja a prey to the merciless inroads of Annamites on the one hand and the Siamese on the other, is a dry and depressing account of pompous titles of princes and internal dissensions which were exploited by the foreign enemies. These chronicles are comparatively modern, being rewritten from Siamese sources at the end of the 18th century—the old histories having been destroyed in the perpetual wars which afflicted the country.

CHAPTER X

Conclusion

Sanscrit Culture in Kambuja.

We have seen in the preceding pages how effectively Kambuja was 'Hinduised.' The kings, nobles, and priests had Sanscrit names. The pandits of the royal court wrote the inscriptions—some of which are quite long compositions—in elegant Sanscrit. Princes were educated by their gurus in the Siddhântas (mathematics and astronomy), the Sanscrit grammar (especially the works of Pâṇini and Patañjali), the Dharma-çâstras, the different systems of philosophy, etc. Çâstrotsavas (literary assemblies) were held in which sometimes Brahman ladies also joined and won admiration by their learned discussions. Vedic sacrifices like the Mahâ-homa, Lakṣa-homa, koṭi-homa, etc., were performed by the monarchs. The Vedas (especially the Atharva-veda) and the Vedâṅgas were carefully studied. The invocations to Çiva in the earliest inscriptions show knowledge of the Vedânta. Daily recitations without interruption of the Râmâyaṇa, Mahâbhârata, and the Puraṇas are referred to in a sixth century inscription (I.S.C.C., p. 30). Kings appointed âcâryas in âçramas and other holy places to teach grammar. Emphasis is

laid on the teaching of the Sanscrit grammar in Kambuja epigraphy. And it must have been well taught if we can judge from the faultless language of the inscriptions. We hear of libraries, well-stocked with many different kinds of books on all the Çâstras, and of schools full of presents offered, at the end of their studies, by pupils. Yaçovarman's digraphic inscriptions show intimate knowledge of the Mahâbhârata, Harivaṃça, and the works of Gunâḍhya, King Pravarasena, Vâtsyâyana, Mayûra, etc. Obscure names in Sanscrit literature like Çura, Bhimaka, and Viçâlâkṣa are also cited there. What is more curious is that legends and traditions, which had grown up round the names of famous authors in India, had found their way into Indo-China in the ninth century. Thus Patañjali the grammarian was regarded in Kambuja as in India as an incarnation of the Çeṣa-nâga. There is an allusion to the story of the withdrawal from the royal court of Gunâḍhya, the author of the Brihat-Kathâ, and his restoration to royal favour in one of Yaçovarman's inscriptions. We have seen quotations from Pâṇini and Manu in Kambuja epigraphy. One of our earliest inscriptions (that of Hanchey) shows a close imitation of Kâlidâsa's description of Raghu's conquests in his Raghuvaṃça. Suçruta, the writer on medicine, was also known. Various Sanscrit metres were successfully used by the

Court poets of Khmer. All this shows intimate cultural relations between Kambuja and India.

Brahmans in Kambuja.

On the social side too we can see the impress of Indian influence. Sûryavarman I is stated to have "established the division of castes" and to have placed the Brahman Çivâcârya at the head of his caste. Harṣavarman III boasts of having made people observe strictly the duties of the four castes. The Brahmans especially seem to have been well organised from at least the fifth century A.D. They were apparently reinforced by immigrants coming from India continuously from the 5th to the 14th century. Chinese annals mention two Kaundinyas as the pioneers of Indian cultural and political influence. In the eighth century, Agastya, coming from India, marries the princess Yaçomatî. In the tenth century, Indralakṣmî, daughter of King Râjendravarman, is given in marriage to the Brahman Divâkara, who was born on the banks of the Jumna "where Kṛṣṇa played in his infancy." Towards the end of the twelfth century the learned Hriṣîkeça, of the Bharadvâj gotra, hearing that a knowledge of the Vedas was held in high esteem in Kambuja, comes to the court of Jayavarman VII. Finally, the inscription of Angkor Vat, the last of our Sanscrit inscriptions and probably belonging to

the middle of the fourteenth century, tells us of Sarvajñamuni, a priest of Bhadreçvara, who came from Âryadeça (North India ?).

We do not get much substantial evidence of the other castes however. Sometimes we come across references to a royal princess marrying a Kṣatriya. We hear much, of course, of the solar dynasty (founded by the Riṣi Kambu and the nymph Merâ) and the lunar dynasty (which has been traced from Kaundinya and Somâ). In these cases too, the founders of the two dynasties were Brahmans, though the later rulers assume the Kṣatriya title of 'varman.' In India too there are cases of a dynasty, Brahman in its origin, being recognised later on as Kṣatriya. It is curious that the tradition of to-day sees in the Bâkus, who are the descendants of the ancient Brahmans, the future sovereigns of the country in case the present royal family of Cambodia becomes extinct.[1]

Caste regulations, however, were much more elastic in Kambuja than in India. Not only did Brahmans wed Kṣatriya princesses (which was after all a valid practice, though not usual in India), but the kings married sometimes Brahman maidens—something quite unorthodox according to the Çâstras. Jayavarman II had

[1] Aymonier, Histoire de l'ancien Cambodge, 1920, p. 178.

a Brahman wife of the name of Prâṇa. Both the queens of Jayavarman VII belonged to the Brahman caste.

Indian Religions in Kambuja.

As regards the influence of Indian religions on Kambuja, Chinese annals tell us of the prevalence of the cult of Maheçvara (Çiva) in the country in the fifth century A.D. During the whole period covered by our inscriptions the cult of Çiva held its ground as the State religion. Only from the ninth century Mahâyâna Buddhism gradually came into prominence, and during the reigns of some kings at least, *e.g.*, Sûryavarman I and Jayavarman VII, shared the royal favour with Çaivism. This strange combination of Mahâyâna doctrines with the worship of Çiva has its parallel in Champa, in Java under the Siṅgasari and the Majapahit dynasties, and in Magadha and Bengal under the Pâla dynasty. This syncretism of Çaivism and Buddhism was to be found about the same period in all these countries. We shall shortly revert to this topic.

Other Indian cults were not unknown in Kambuja. The worship of Hari-Hara (Viṣṇu and Çiva combined as one) was very popular in Kambuja in the sixth and seventh centuries. Some of the oldest and finest Khmer sculptures represent this combination. In one case these

two deities were combined in a liṅga emblem—which is unusual in India. Viṣṇu was worshipped separately too. Sûryavarman II was a Vaiṣṇava and the great temple of Angkor Vat, which was built during his reign, is very probably a shrine of Viṣṇu. Images of Umâ, Lakṣmî, Sarasvatî and of Gangâ (the Ganges) are also mentioned in the inscriptions. A shrine was raised to Kṛṣṇa in a place called Madhuvana by the Brahman Divâkara who came from the banks of the Jumna. At least once an image of Brahmâ is referred to. In the digraphic inscriptions of Yaçovarman, we hear of shrines consecrated to Gaṇeça, Nidrâ, Kârttikeya, Nârâyaṇa, Brahmarâkṣasa, Rudrâṇî, etc.[1] The goddess Nidrâ (sleep) is identified by Barth with Yoganidrâ or Mahâmâyâ (a form of Durgâ). The mention of a shrine of Brahmarâkṣasa is peculiarly interesting. He is not a god at all but a malignant spirit. When a wicked Brahman commits suicide or meets with a violent death, according to popular tradition, his troubled soul assumes the form of a Brahmarâkṣasa. No shrine dedicated to such an evil spirit probably exists in India, but the Brahmarâkṣasa plays an important role in numerous folk-tales of Bengal. Aymonier states that the defiles of the hills of Bantea Meas, where this shrine is situated, are supposed

[1] I. S. C. C., pp. 376, 382, 385, 387, 388 and 390.

to be haunted up to this time and still strike terror into the hearts of the superstitious.

Deification of Distinguished Persons.

An original aspect of Kambuja religion is the deification of kings, queens, learned priests, and other persons of distinction and their identification with Çiva (in the case of men) and Durgâ (in the case of women). These divinities were represented by images reproducing the features of the persons thus honoured and were also named after these individuals—the only distinction being the addition of the titles Īçvara or Devî to the personal names, to show the identification with the deity. Thus king Yaçovarman erects two images of Çiva, which bore the names of Indravarmeçvara and Mahâpatîçvara, the names of the king's father Indravarman and of his grandfather Mahâpativarman, who are here worshipped as Çiva. Two images of Durgâ were also consecrated at the same place, which were named Indra-devî and Râjendra-devî—the names of the king's mother and grandmother. Ancestor worship and the worship of Çiva and his spouse were thus combined. In Champa too we come across this practice.

These images were statues of the persons thus deified. An image of Bhagavatî at Baset

is stated in the accompanying inscription to be the effigy of a lady.[1]

Identifications of distinguished men and women with Viṣṇu and the Buddhist goddess Prajñâpâramitâ are also referred to. In short, from the ninth to the end of the twelfth century, allusions to this practice of apotheosis of persons, held in high esteem, are quite common in our inscriptions.

Moreover, similar deification of living people too was not unknown. Thus Punnâgavarman consecrates an image of Çiva "which is made after his own likeness."[2] King Udayâdityavarman II consecrates the liṅga Jayendravarmeçvara when his guru Jayendravarman, in whose honour the emblem was so named, was still alive.[3] The victorious general Saṅgrâma offers to the king the spoils of war requesting him to present them "to your subtle ego who is Īçvara dwelling in a golden liṅga."

Then again we have posthumous titles of the kings indicating that they had gone to the heavens of their favourite deities such as Çivaloka, Viṣṇuloka, Nirvâṇapada, etc. A few of the kings of Champa have similar posthumous titles.

[1] Coedès, 'Sur l'apotheose au Cambodge,' B. C. A. I., 1911, p. 42.

[2] Journal Asiatique, t. xx (1882), p. 145.

[3] Insc. of Sdok kak Thom, B. E. F. E. O., t. xv, p. 86.

Finally we have the cult of the Kamraten Jagat ta râjya (the god who is the kingdom) or the Deva-râja (the Royal God). This deity (which was a Çiva-liṅga) represented the royal essence present in the living king of Kambuja and in all her kings.

In Java we have the magnificent statue of King Erlangga deified as Viṣṇu and seated on Garuḍa. The statue of Kertarajasa, the first king of Majapahit, also displays all the divine symbols of Viṣṇu, namely—the conch, the disc, the club, and the lotus. King Kritanagara, the last of the Siṅgasari dynasty, had his statue set up in a cremation ground in the shape of the Jina Akṣobhya. In the Nagara-kritagama, Hyam Wuruk, the greatest of the Javanese kings, is represented as identical in essence with Çiva-Buddha.

We have already noticed that something like the cult of the Royal God, with its mystic connection between the ruling dynasty and the divinity, was to be found in Central Java (Dinaya inscr. of 760 A. D.) and Champa (inscr. of Dong-duong) associated in each case with an important rôle given to a Brahman family. Dr. Bosch in his article in the Tijdschrift Bat. Gen. (Deel LXIV, 1924) supposes a common origin for all this in Kuñjara-Kuñja in South India.

In India too the custom of describing the god of a temple by the name of the founder was

well-known. "At Pattadakal (which region offers so many points of resemblance to Kambuja)," says Sir Charles Eliot, "King Vijayâditya founded a temple of Vijayeçvara, and two queens, Lokamahâdevî and Trailokyamahâdevî, founded temples of Lokeçvara and Trailokeçvara."[1]

An inscription from Kurgod in the Bellary district (Madras Presidency), dated 1181 A.D., states that in the course of his pious reign, Râcamalla (the Sînda ruler of Kurgod) was favoured with an epiphany of Çiva and his attendant spirits. After death Râcamalla was translated to Sâlokya in Çiva's heaven, subsequently appearing on earth as a manifestation of Çiva in form of a svayambhuva (self-created) liṅga in Kurgod, where a sanctuary was raised and worship paid to him under the name of Udbhava-Râcamalleçvara.[2] The ancestor of the Sînda princes was supposed to have sprung from the union of a Nâga king with the radiance (personified) of Çiva's sword.

Among the Bengalis up to this time, when speaking of a departed relation, we say Îçvara so-and-so. The idea is that after death the person has become merged in God.

The passage in the Pratimâ nâṭaka (attributed to Bhâsa), referring to the statue of the

[1] Sir Charles Eliot, 'Hinduism and Buddhism,' Vol. III, p. 116.

[2] Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XIV, No. 19, pp. 279-281.

deceased King Daçaratha being added to the statues of his predecessors in the pratimâ (statue) hall, has already been referred to. Some of the shrines of the great temple of the Bayon (of Angkor Thom) must have been like this—where the great men of the country were commemorated by statues which received veneration side by side with the images of gods and goddesses.

Possibly there might have been some Chinese influence too in this Kambuja practice of the apotheosis of ancestors. In the Far East ancestor-worship is the fundamental form of religion, and in China we find fully developed the notion that ancestral spirits could reside in tablets.

As regards the apotheosis of kings, we must remember that in the Çâstras (and in the Bhagavad Gîtâ too) the king is, as it were, the image of God. Moreover, as Sir Charles Eliot says :— "A simpler cause tended to unite Church and State in all these Hindu colonies. In mediaeval India the Brahmans became so powerful that they could claim to represent religion and civilization apart from the State. But in Kambuja and Champa, Brahmanic religion and civilization were bound up with the State. Both were attacked by and ultimately succumbed to the same enemies." [1]

[1] Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. III, p. 117.

Mahâyâna Buddhism in Çrivjaya and Kambuja.

Before we pass on to other aspects of life in Kambuja, something should be said about the rise and progress of Buddhism in that country. Early in the sixth century two Buddhist monks Saṅghapâla and Mandra went from Fu-nan to China and translated some of the Buddhist scriptures into Chinese. Their translations are yet to be found in the Chinese tripîṭaka. I-tsing, who travelled in these regions towards the end of the seventh century, speaking of Fu-nan says—"In ancient times .....the people worshipped many Devas. Then the Law of Buddha prospered and expanded. But at the present time a wicked king has completely destroyed it and there are no more monks." From his writings it seems that Hînayâna Buddhism of the Mûlasarvâstivâda school flourished in Indo-China and in Çrîvijaya in Sumatra.

It was with the arrival from "Javâ" of Jayavarman II at the beginning of the ninth century, that Mahâyâna Buddhism rose into prominence in Kambuja. Probably Java here means the Çrîvijaya kingdom, which at this time wielded its sway over considerable portions of Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, and Java. The Kalasan inscription in Central Java (778 A.D.), which dedicates a temple to Târâ, the splendid Buddhist shrines like Borobodur

constructed by the Çrîvijaya kings in Java, the Nalanda plate of Devapâla of Bengal (towards the close of the 9th century) granting some villages for the upkeep of the monastery built at Nalanda by Bâlputradeva of the Çailendra dynasty of (the Çrivijaya kingdom of) Sumatra, the Chola inscription of the early eleventh century commemorating the donation of a village to a Buddhist temple at Negapatam, built by a king of the Çaîlendra dynasty of Çrîvijaya—all these show the fervent ardour displayed by the rulers of Çrîvijaya in the cause of Mahâyâna Buddhism. A Nepalese manuscript of the eleventh century, which gives miniatures of famous Mahâyâna images at important Buddhist centres, contains a miniature which represents Avalokiteçvara, with the heading "Avalokiteçvara at Çrîvijaya-pura in Suvarṇapura (Sumatra)." The voyage of the celebrated Bengali monk Atīça to Suvarṇadvîpa (Sumatra), to consult a learned Buddhist monk in that distant island (mentioned in Tibetan and Nepalese works), shows the reputation of Çrîvijaya up to the middle of the eleventh century as a stronghold of Mahâyâna Buddhism.

Now why Jayavarman II of Kambuja was in Java or Çrîvijaya at all we do not know. An Arab writer Abu Zayd (916 A.D.) relates the story of a victorious expedition undertaken by the "Maharaja" (of Çrîvijaya) to Khmer.

Possibly, towards the end of the eighth century (which century is a blank in Kambuja history), Çrîvijaya claimed some sort of suzerainty over Kambuja, and Jayavarman, a prince of the latter country, might have resided for some time at the court of his sovereign.

The important inscription of Sdok Kak Thom, the record of the High Priests of the Royal God, states that on coming back from Java Jayavarman II built three capitals in succession—Hariharâlaya, Amarendrapura and Mahendraparvata, and that in his last days the great king went back to his first capital Hariharâlaya. Apparently Jayavarman had been infected with the spirit of the great building activity which the Çrîvijaya kings were at this time showing in Central Java. Now Amarendrapura, the first of the great monuments of Khmer art, has been successfully identified with Banteai Chmar —a city which recent researches have discovered to be wholly Mahâyânist and of which Avalokiteçvara was the presiding deity.[1] This is strong evidence for inferring that Mahâyâna Buddhism came with Jayavarman II from Çrîvijaya.

Hariharâlaya, the first and last capital of Jayavarman II, is generally supposed to be in the immediate vicinity of Angkor Thom. The third capital Mahendraparvata (the present

[1] B. E. F. E. O., t. xxv (1925), Nos. 3-4, p. 294.

Phnom Koulen) is a few leagues to the N.W. of Angkor, and this hill was the quarry from which were supplied the stones for constructing Angkor Thom. The Brahmanical inscription of Sdok Kak Thom ascribes the founding of Angkor Thom to Yaçovarman—a fervent Çaiva. This famous capital has been up to this time supposed to be pre-eminently Çaiva, and the Bayon has been considered, on the authority of the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom of the Brahman High Priests, to be the shrine of the Royal God. But quite recent discoveries have shown traces of representations of Lokeçvara on the gates of this city, and a Lokeçvara (Avalokiteçvara) image has been found in a central place in the temple of the Bayon itself. What makes these recent findings more interesting is the fact that these emblems of Mahâyânism at Angkor Thom have been deliberately mutilated or carefully concealed by Çaiva iconoclasts. M. Finot has been led to the conclusion that Angkor Thom began as a Buddhist city, which was placed under the special protection of the Bodhisattva Lokeçvara, and that the Bayon itself was in the beginning a Lokeçvara shrine, which was afterwards converted into a Çaiva temple.[1] Between Angkor Thom and Banteai Chmar (the second capital of Jayavarman II) many vestiges of the Lokeçvara cult have been found in the intervening country

[1] Etudes Asiatiques, 1925, Vol. I, pp. 227-256.

and these have also suffered from iconoclastic zeal.

M. Finot's conclusion is that Angkor Thom was founded by Jayavarman II—a Mahâyâna Buddhist. It seems that Hariharâlaya (the first and last capital of Jayavarman II) was simply the older name of Angkor. Yaçovarman, M. Finot thinks, converted it into a Çaiva city, and, as in the Brahmanical inscription of Sdok Kak Thom, he is represented as the founder of this capital, the acts of vandalism committed against Mahâyânist images may perhaps be attributed to him. It is also strange that the exceptionally long reign of Jayavarman II should have left no contemporary inscription, especially when this period was considered to be so brilliant in subsequent times. Probably the inscriptions of this Buddhist sovereign were deliberately destroyed.[1]

This very inscription of the High Priests of the Royal God suggests some relation between the religion followed at first by Jayavarman II and Java or Çrîvijaya. We have already seen the passage in which Jayavarman asks the Brahman Hiraṇyadâma, who came from Janapada and who had supernatural powers, to draw up a ritual so that Kambuja-deça might no longer be dependent on Java and that there might be in the

[1] In the badly damaged inscription of Prasat Khnat (see p. 85) one can decipher the name of Lokanâtha (Buddha) and Jayavarman II.

kingdom a Cakravarttî sovereign (*i.e.*, a ruler not owing allegiance to any sovereign). It seems, therefore, that Jayavarman II, at first a fervent Mahâyânist, adopted a Tântric form of Çaivism (for we hear of Hiraṇyadâma, who possessed "siddhi," teaching Tântric texts) to cut off all connection with Çrîvijaya. It strengthens our hypothesis that the Mahâyâna Buddhism, which we find at this period in Kambuja, came from Çrîvijaya.

Mahâyâna Doctrines from Magadha in Çrîvijaya.

Now the problem rises—from which part of India did Çrîvijaya and Kambuja get this Mahâyâna Buddhism? If the early Çaiva cult in Indo-China and the Malay archipelago seems to have originated from South India—the later wave of Mahâyâna Buddhism, it seems to me, is to be traced to Magadha and Bengal. In the seventh century, Buddhism, especially Mahâyâna Buddhism, had already dwindled into insignificance in Southern India, which was dominated in this period by Jainism and Çaivism. A few scattered remnants of the Buddhist cult in the South, observed by Hiuen Tsang, were mostly of the Hinayâna school. So we should not expect the wave of proselytising zeal, which made the Çailendra kings of Çrîvijaya propagate the

Mahâyâna faith in the Malay peninsula (Inscr. of Vien Sa 775 A. D.)[1] and in Java (Inscr. of Kalasan 779 A.D.),[2] to have reached the shores of Sumatra from Southern India. Moreover, we can bring more direct evidence to bear upon this point. Kern, in his Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indie (Part II, p. 415), states that Dharmapâla, the famous professor of Nalanda, after teaching there for 30 years, left for Suvarṇadvîpa (Sumatra).[3] Again the inscription of Kalasan in Central Java, which commemorates the construction of a temple of Târâ by order of the Mahârâja of the Çailendra dynasty, is written in North Indian characters. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar wrote in 1889[4] after seeing a photo of this inscription, "The characters resemble those of the North Indian inscriptions of the period between the eighth and eleventh centuries; while the style of execution is almost exactly like that of an inscription (of the middle of the ninth century) found at Ghosravan near the old city of Nalanda in Magadha." At this time Magadha was part of the dominions of the fervently Mahâyânist Pâlas of Bengal.

[1] G. Ferrand, L'Empire Sumatranais de Çrîvijaya, p. 38.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] See Târânâtha, History of Buddhism in India, transl. by Schiefner, p. 161.

[4] Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society:—A Sanscrit Inscription from Central Java, 1889.

This inscription does not stand alone. Burnell, as we have already seen (p. 110), writes in his South Indian Palaeography (p. 53) that inscriptions in this Nâgarî character occur in considerable numbers in Java. "Grants, explanatory remarks, inscriptions on rings and Buddhist confessions of faith have all been found in this character."

In the digraphic inscriptions of Yaçovarman (ninth century A.D.) the North Indian characters appear in Kambuja also. Barth is of the opinion (see p. 112) that this North Indian alphabet arrived in Kambuja only after making a long halt in Java, as the Javanese and Kambuja (Nâgarî) scripts resemble each other more closely than any of the North Indian scripts. I suggest that this script and Mahâyâna Buddhism probably came both together with Jayavarman II into Kambuja from Çrîvijaya. We must remember that we possess no contemporary inscription of Jayavarman II. I have already quoted Barth's remark (p. 112) that as regards general aspect this new script in Java and Kambuja is more akin to Bengali than to any other Northern alphabet.

Burnell believed that Buddhist emigrants from North India came in large numbers to Java about the eleventh century—perhaps on account of religious disputes in India.[1] Since

[1] Indian Antiquary, V, p. 316.

then the Kalasan inscription of Central Java (779 A.D.) and the digraphic inscriptions of Yaçovarman (889 A.D.) have been discovered, and we now know that the kingdom of Çrîvijaya (in Sumatra) was an important stronghold of Mahâyâna Buddhism in the eighth century. Towards the end of the seventh century I-tsing wrote that there were a few Mahâyânists in Malayu (in Sumatra and part of the Çrîvijaya kingdom) while the Mûlasarvâstivâda (akin to Hinayâna but apparently not irreconcilable to Mahâyâna) was the dominant form of Buddhism in Çrîvijaya. Moreover he mentions that the King of Çrîvijaya possessed ships sailing between India and Sumatra, and that it was on a ship belonging to the king that he himself sailed for Tâmralipti (Tamluk, near the mouth of the Hughli). This shows regular commercial intercourse with Bengal.

Again we know from the account of Hiuen Tsang that Çaçâṅka, king of Karṇa-suvarṇa (south of Murshidabad), violently persecuted the Buddhists early in the seventh century. It is possible that as a result of this persecution there might have been a large-scale emigration of Buddhists to Farther India and the Malay archipelago.[1] But in spite of this king's

[1] M. Senart, while discussing the inscription of Srei Santhor (see p. 162), quotes Târânâtha as mentioning that many Buddhists came to Indo-China from Madhya-deça (Magadha) in the 8th century.

attempt to extirpate Buddhism, it held its ground in Karṇa-suvarṇa itself. For Hiuen Tsang, when he visited this region, mentions a "magnificent and famous" Buddhist monastery of the name of 'Rakta-mrittikâ' (Red Earth)—"the resort of illustrious Brethren" (Watter's translation, Vol. II, p. 191) and ten other Buddhist shrines in the capital. It is curious that the present name of this locality is Râṅgâmâtî (Bengali for red earth). By the by, the "Rakta-mrittikâ," referred to in an early Sanscrit inscription in the Malay Peninsula, as the place to which belonged the pious Buddhist sea-trader who was the author of this inscription may well have been this Bengal monastery, on the bank of the Bhâgîrathî (or Hughli), the name of which has still survived. However that may be, when Hiuen Tsang came to Samataṭa (the delta of the Ganges)—he heard of Çrî-Kṣetra (Prome), Dvârâvatî (in Siam), Içâna-pura (Kambuja) and Mahâ-Champâ as countries lying toward the east and of Yamandvipa (Yava-dvîpa) to the south-east. He says that these countries beyond Samataṭa were not visited by him, but he gained information about them at Samataṭa.[1] People in Samataṭa (the Gangetic delta) must then have been acquainted with these distant regions. It is noteworthy that Kambuja is mentioned by

[1] Watters' Yuan Chwang, Vol. II, p. 187.

the name of Içânapura, for Içânavarman was reigning there probably at that very time or a few years before it.

Spread of Tantra-yâna from Bengal.

But it was under the Pâlas of Bengal (who rose to power in the latter half of the eighth century) that Mahâyânism reached its high-water mark in Bengal and Magadha. But from the beginning of this Pâla period Mahâyâna doctrines became tinged with Tântrism. The Pâla dynasty lasted until the Muhammadan conquest of Bihar in 1199, and throughout this long period the Pâla monarchs remained steadfast supporters of Buddhism, though unfortunately Tântrism worked havoc with it—especially in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. And Tântrism was also at the same time modifying Çaivism in Bengal. Tântric Buddhism (or Tantra-yâna) was in this period slowly losing itself in the Tântric Çaiva cult. Lokeçvara and Târâ were becoming mere shadows of Çiva and Durgâ. The Brahmans, who monopolised the office of prime-minister of the Pâla Kings, must have helped to bring about this curious medley.[1] The later Pâla kings installed images of Çiva side by side with images of Lokeçvara. Indeed the form of this Lokeçvara was like that of Çiva and was adorned

[1] R. D. Banerji, Mem. A.S.B., Vol. V, pp. 43-113, 1915.

in the same manner with snakes as ornaments. A curious scripture, the Çunya Purâna, written by one Ramâi Paṇḍit in the eleventh century, combined the doctrine of 'void' of Mahâyânism with Tântric practices into which the whole of the Hindu pantheon was also introduced.[1] Other teachers taught darker secret teachings, and Buddhism fell into evil days indeed.

But all this is interesting because Mahâyânism and Çaivism in Sumatra, Java, and Kambuja showed during this same period exactly the same characteristics. As M. Finot has pointed out the images of Lokeçvara at Angkor Thom bore such a strong resemblance to those of Çiva, that the iconoclasts (probably during Yaçovarman's reign) spared some of them by mistake. After this outbreak of fanaticism, Mahâyânism and Çaivism became more and more fused together—as we have seen in the inscriptions. In one case we have seen the identification became so complete that a Trinity was composed of Brahmâ, Viṣṇu and Buddha, and this combination was dedicated to Çiva. Buddhist sovereigns like Jayavarman VII had Brahmans versed in the Vedas as royal chaplains and paid their homage to Brahmanic deities. We have also noticed in the inscriptions that Tântric doctrines had crept into the

[1] D. C. Sen, Bengali Language and Literature, p. 30.

Çaiva cult of Kambuja. Hiraṇyadâma, who introduced the worship of the Royal God, taught four Tântric texts to the first high priest of this deity. Several kings were initiated into the Vrah Guhya (the Great Secret) by their Brahman gurus. Udayâdityavarman II, after celebrating the Dikṣâs (mystic consecrations), performed the mahotsavapûjâ according to the Vrah Guhya[1] with the aid of the high priest of the Royal God—Jayendra-Paṇḍita. Buddhism in Kambuja was apparently not so much tinged with Tântrism as far as we can learn from the inscriptions. There are however references in an inscription to the "tantras of the Pâramis" (see p. 168). See also the references to Çakti in a Buddhist inscr. (p. 188). Also images of He-vajra have been quite recently discovered at Angkor Thom (as the writer heard recently from M. Finot). This is a Tântric Buddhist divinity (which is Çaiva in its attributes) introduced into Tibet and Nepal from Bengal during the Pâla period.

In Java and Sumatra, Mahâyâna Buddhism and the cult of Çiva, both deeply imbued with Tântric influence, are to be seen often blending with one another during this period. The Kamahâyânikan, consisting of Sanskrit verses explained by a Kavi (Old Javanese) commentary, professes to teach the Mahâyâna and

[1] B.E.F.E.O., t. xv, No. 2, p. 93.

Mantrayâna. Sir Charles Eliot thinks that it offers many parallels to Nepalese Tantric literature, which, as we know, consists of the teachings of the Buddhist monks of Magadha and Bengal during the Pâla period. According to this treatise, Brahmâ, Viṣṇu, and Çiva are emanations of the Dhyânî Buddha Vairocana. The "pañca makâras" are also referred to in this strange work.[1] Another Kavi text, which gives the story of Kuñjarakaraṇa, extols Vairocana as being Çiva and Buddha in one. The Javanese version of the Sutasoma Jâtaka, composed by one Tantular who lived at Majapahit in the reign of Rajasanagara (1350-1389 A. D.), states, "The Lord Buddha is not different from Çiva."[2] But most important of all from this point of view are the references to the Tântric practices in Java and Sumatra in I. J L Moens' article in the Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal...Land en Volkenkunde...(Deel. LXIV, 1924). There we find extracts from Prapañca's Nagarkritagama (a Kavi work composed during the reign of Hyam Wuruk—fourteenth century) showing Kritanagara, the ruler of Singasari, as receiving worship as a Çiva-Buddha. But Çiva is here Bhairava and Buddha has the terrible demoniac aspect which

[1] Sanghyang Kamahâyânikan, ed. by J. Kats, p. 24.

[2] Sir Charles Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. III, pp. 175, 176.

we come across in the Vajrayâna. We find a statue of this king in a cremation ground—which is an unmistakable proof of the Tântric doctrines which he professed. Again while discussing the Tântric inscriptions (1269), of Âdityavarman, a Sumatran prince, Moens describes this prince as receiving in a cremation ground the Bhairava consecration while on all sides corpses burnt on funeral pyres. The funereal monument of this prince states that he possessed all the Buddhist virtues and that he was an incarnation of Lokeçvara.

Now we can definitely assert that at this time such a blend of Buddhism and Çaivism in the melting pot of Tântrism occurred only in Magadha and Bengal under the Pâlas. And up to this day we find such a syncretism of corrupt Buddhist and Çaiva doctrines in Nepal and in Tibet, and we know that these countries imported this cult from Pâla Bengal. "The Nepalese Brahmans tolerate Buddhism. The Nepâla-mâhâtmya (a Hindu text) says that to worship Buddha is to worship Çiva and the Svayambhu Purâṇa (a Buddhist text) returns the compliment by recommending the worship of Paçupati (Çiva). The official itinerary of the Hindu pilgrim includes Svayambhu where he adores the Âdi-Buddha under that name. More often the two religions adore the same image under different names; what is Avalokiteçvara

to the one is Mahâkâla to the other."[1] Sir Charles Eliot rightly says that this singular fusion of Buddhism with Hinduism, which Nepal now presents, helps us to understand what must have been the last phase in Pâla Bengal. And we should compare with this the blend of the Çiva worship and Mahâyâna Buddhism in Sumatra, Java and Kambuja.

B. Bhattacharya, in his "Indian Buddhist Iconography" (1924), states that the Çaktielement in the Tântric doctrine, which brought in the Çaktis or the female energies of the Dhyânî Buddhas, was first associated with the Mahâyânist cult by Indra-bhuti, the King of Udyana[2] (Chitral) about 700 A.D. He quotes the Tibetan historian Târânâtha to that effect. But Târânâtha himself is our main authority for asserting that it was in the Vikramaçilâ and the Jagaddala Universities, founded by the Pâla kings of Bengal, that this Tantrayâna Buddhism was fully developed, and that it was from these centres that famous missionaries went to preach in Tibet and Nepal. We learn that Sanscrit books were translated into Tibetan at Vikramaçilâ itself, which was the resort of many Tibetan students.

[1] Sir Charles Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. II, p. 118.

[2] Târânâtha writes 'Uddiyâna.' Is this the same as Udyâna (Chitral) ? Some have supposed Uddiyâna to be Orissa (Uddra), which is more probable, as no trace has been found, in the numerous

Intercourse between Bengal and the Archipelago.

We also know that there was direct intercourse between Bengal and the Malay Archipelago. We have the copperplate grant of Devapâla (about the end of the ninth century), granting five villages for the upkeep of a monastery—which is described quite fully. There we find that the illustrious Mahârâja Bâlaputra, the overlord of Suvarṇadvîpa (Sumatra), whose mother was Târâ,—the daughter of a King Dharmasetu of the Lunar race and the queen of a king who was the son of the renowned ruler of Yava-bhûmi (Java), "with his mind attracted by the manifold excellences of Nalanda, built there a monastery, which was the abode of the assembly of monks of various good qualities, and was white with the series of stuccoed and lofty buildings.—(This monarch) having requested King Devapâladeva through envoys...issuing a charter (Devapâla) granted these five villages." [1]

Then we have the memoirs of Atīça, a monk "born in the royal family of Gauḍa at Vikrampur in Bengal" (in 980 A.D.), who established Buddhism on a sound footing in Tibet and was the guru of Bromton—the founder of the first

images discovered in Chitral, of Tântric Buddhism. Mr. Bhattacharya himself seems to agree with this view.

[1] Epigraphia Indica, July, 1924, p. 310.

grand hierarchy of Tibet. These memoirs were written by Kalyâṇa Mitra Phyagsorpa—the personal friend of a devoted companion of Atīça and were printed in a Tibetan monastery in 1250 A.D. In this work [1] we find that Dipaṅkara (whose earlier name was Atīça), after being ordained in the highest order of Bhikṣus, resolved to go to Âchârya Dharmakîrti—the High Priest of Suvarṇadvîpa. "There is a country filled with precious minerals and stones called Suvarṇa-dvîpa. Dharmakîrti was born in the royal family of that country. With a view to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Dharma he obtained leave from his father to go to Jambudvîpa (India) for a pilgrimage to Vajrâsana (Bodh-Gaya). The great Âcârya Çrî Ratna at Vajrâsana consented to instruct the Sumatran prince in Dharma only if he vowed to become a monk." After finishing his education at Vajrâsana (Gaya), Dharmakîrti went back to Suvarṇadvîpa, and such was the fame of his learning that he made Suvarṇadvîpa the head-quarters of Buddhism in the East. So, in the company of some merchants, Dipaṅkara (or Atīça) embarked for Sumatra in a large vessel. The voyage was long and tedious extending over several months. Dipaṅkara resided in Suvarṅadvîpa for twelve years in order completely to master the teachings of Dharmakīrti.

[1] Referred to in Sarat Chandra Das' 'Indian Pundits in Tibet.'

Then he returned to India, accompanied by some merchants in a sailing vessel, visiting Ceylon and the 'island of forests' on his way. It was after this that he went on his highly successful mission to Tibet.

In a Nepalese manuscript with miniatures,[1] dating from about the eleventh century, the first miniature has the explanatory note "Dipaṅkara in Yavadvîpa." Yavadvîpa often meant Sumatra as well as Java.

In the British Museum may be seen a Javanese image of the Singasari period (thirteenth century) with the inscription Bhavânî and Mâmaki in a North Indian script which is much more akin to Bengali than to Nâgarî. Mâmaki was the Çakti of Ratnasambhaya—one of the Dhyânî Buddhas—and here she has been identified with Bhavânî or Durgâ. Dr. Vogel also mentions that several of the imges of Eastern Java (of the Singasari and Majapahit period—*i.e.*, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) bear inscriptions in a North Indian script.[2] It seems to me that there is some resemblance between the Pâla school of sculpture (which achieved considerable success under the artists Dhimân and Vitapâla) and the later school of Javanese sculpture as seen in the images enshrined within the temples (*i.e.*, not the reliefs

[1] Foucher, Etude sur l'iconographie Bouddhique, pp. 79-81.
[2] Influences of Indian Art, p. 76.

of the Wayang style which at this period served to decorate the exterior of the temples). The latest discoveries of M. Goloubeff have brought to light what seems to have been a renaissance of Khmer sculpture early in the fourteenth century. It is possible that some foreign influence—either Javanese or of the Pâla school (the Bengali Buddhist artist in this period being scattered in all directions after the Muhammadan conquest)—may have been accountable for this. This last stage of sculpture is described as being very sweet in expression—which has been always a characteristic of Javanese art in all periods.

A Cambodian Fairy Tale.

And though we do not possess such direct evidence of intercourse between Bengal and Kambuja, we have got some valuable evidence of another type. Unfortunately the Khmer literature is not comparable in richness to the Kavi of Java, but there are many fairy tales and romances which are of considerable artistic merit. The history of the two princes Vorvong and Saurivong is the most favourite story of Cambodia. M. Pavie, who has edited it in his Contes du Cambodge (pp. 169-263), got the text of the story by comparing about 500 manuscripts (generally of palm-leaf) which he found in the principal temples of Cambodia (p. 10).

It is in verse and many passages have, even in the translation, a charm of tender pathos to which we cannot do any justice at all in the bare outline given below. The step-mother of the two young princes Saurivong and Vorvong, wishing to remove them from the way of her own son, falsely complains to their father, the king, that they had insulted her. The two princes are sentenced to death by the king, but the executioners take pity on them and let them escape. As the princes are Bodhisattvas, Indra and another god come to their help. The two gods transform themselves into cocks and fight near the tree under which the two brothers were sleeping after a long journey. One of the cocks rebukes the other for its presumption in defying it—saying that he who eats its flesh would be a king of two kingdoms after seven years. The other replies that he who eats its flesh would be a king after seven months. The two cocks fight till they are both killed. Saurivong, the elder brother, eats the second cock, and Vorvong the first. One evening they enter a deserted rest-house for travellers. The king of that country was dead and had left a lovely and accomplished daughter. That very day the royal elephant had been let loose, as the court astrologers had predicted that the future king of the realm had just reached the country. The elephant came straight to the lonely

resthouse and, without waking the princes, took up Saurivong gently with his trunk, put him on his back, and returned to the palace. The young Vorvong, when he woke up, found to his horror that his brother had disappeared and entered into a forest in search of him. The elder brother Saurivong, when he woke up and found himself in the royal court, asked first of all for his brother. A search was made for him, but in vain. Saurivong was crowned king in spite of his protests and then he married the princess.

Meanwhile, Vorvong reaches another kingdom (of King Thornit) and seeks shelter in an old woman's hut, who, however, seeing the diamond ring on his finger, takes him to be a thief, and brings the king's guards who arrest him. He is imprisoned for six years in a cage on the sea-side. Then Indra appears in a vision to the princess (Kessey) of the realm and tells her that the prisoner is destined to be her husband. Meanwhile, a neighbouring king (Sotat) was threatened by a giant, and he appealed to King Thornit for help. The king at once collected his fleet, but the flag-ship could not be launched in spite of all efforts. The prisoner Vorvong from his cage undertook to launch the ship. Being set free, he prays to the gods, and then at a slight push of his finger the royal ship glides into the harbour waters. He is taken by King Thornit on board, and on

reaching the kingdom of King Sotat, Vorvong fights with the giant and vanquishes him. King Sotat abdicates and puts Vorvong on his throne. Shortly afterwards King Thornit, who is also advanced in years, abdicates in his favour, and marries him to his daughter Kessey. Further misfortunes are however in store for Vorvong. While travelling with his queen Kessey from one of his kingdoms to another, they suffer shipwreck, and husband and wife are separated. The queen finds shelter in a hut belonging to an old hunter and his wife, and soon after gives birth to a child. Being unable to take proper care of the child, on account of the cruel treatment of the hunter's wife, she entrusts her son to an old woman, who is really Indra in disguise. Before parting with the baby, she ties round its neck the diamond ring of Vorvong Indra puts the baby on the highway just when King Saurivong (for it is his kingdom) passes by on his elephant. The king recognises the diamond ring to be his brother's and adopts the child. He builds a palace for the baby, on the walls of which the scenes of the story of Saurivong and Vorvong, up to the time of their separation, are depicted. Travellers from distant countries are taken there to see these pictures, as by this means the king hopes to recover his lost brother. The plan succeeds. Vorvong, who is seeking his wife everywhere, comes to this place, recognises

the scenes painted on the walls, and is taken to his royal brother. Shortly afterwards, the old woman (Indra) leads Queen Kessey to the palace to see her child. There is mutual recognition. The two brothers then march at the head of their armies to their father's kingdom, overthrow their step-brother, who was ruling there, and are reconciled to their old father. The hill, which marked the site of the battle with their step-brother, is still called Mount Vorvong-Sourivong.

A Bengali Folk Tale.

One of the most popular fairy tales of Bengal (which the writer often heard in his childhood) follows the main outlines of this Cambodian story (D. C. Sen, Folk Literature of Bengal, p. 166 *et seq.*). There also the two young princes (Çîta and Vasanta) are sentenced to death, on account of the machinations of their step-mother. The episode of the two cocks is there, who talk exactly in the same fashion. The royal elephant carries away the sleeping Çîta to be crowned king. A merchant keeps Vasanta in captivity. The merchant's ship would not float on the sea. At Vasanta's touch it is successfully launched. Vasanta marries a princess, but during a voyage the wicked merchant throws him into the sea. The ending is exactly the same.

There are several versions of this story in Bengali, some of which are given by Dr. D. C. Sen in his Folk Literature of Bengal (p. 166 *et seq.*). The Muhammadan version (which preserves, however, all the Hindu names) approaches nearest to the Cambodian. A Tibetan 'Mystery' drama is supposed by M. Bacot to be based also upon this Bengali story. Dr. Sen states that this is one of a group of old Buddhist tales (handed down from the Pâla period). They have been transmitted to the Muhammadan converts (who were mostly Buddhists in Bengal) from a period anterior to the Muhammadan conquest.[1] Now we have found it in Cambodia, and it was probably brought over there by merchants from Bengal.[2] There are several other Cambodian stories which resemble (though not so much as this) Bengali fairy tales. Çrî Haraprasâd Çâstrî writes in his introduction to N. N. Vasu's "Modern Buddhism and its Followers in Orissa" (p. 21) that the flourishing merchants of Bengal were Buddhists. In the reign of Ballâla Sena they were severely persecuted, as their leader Vallabha, who possessed two forts and was enormously rich, refused to advance a loan to a

[1] D. C. Sen, Folk Literature of Bengal, p. 156.

[2] Cheou Ta-kouan (c.p. p. 229) mentions that the best cloth of the finest texture came (to Kambuja) from across the Western seas. Ramusio writes in the middle of the 16th century that there was a great demand in Kambuja for Bengal muslin.

non-Buddhist monarch. So these merchants were driven away from the kingdom, and those who remained in Bengal were degraded in caste. "It was people of these classes who carried Buddhist ideals (far and wide), held commercial relations with the countries of Eastern and Southern Asia, and were great in trade and industry. We hear of long sea-voyages (especially to Ceylon) made even in the fifteenth century by the Bengal Baniyâs, glowing descriptions of which are to be found in works of 'Manasâr Bhâsân' written by various (early) poets of Bengal" (p. 23). It is curious that in these poems of merchant adventurers, the leading rôle is taken by Manasâ—a Nâgî goddess.

While we are discussing literature, it may be pointed out that there were three regions each with its special Tantras, and that among the Tantras of the Viṣṇukrântâ region (which includes Bengal and extends to Chittagong) the names of the Sammohana and the Niruttara Tantras approach very closely to the titles of two (out of four) of the Tantras (Sammoha and Nayottara) taught by Hiraṇyadâma to the first high priest of the Royal God. The Tantras Mundamâlâ and Chinnamastâ mean (as far as the names go) almost the same thing as Çiraçcheda—the third text taught to the Kambuja priest. The word Tumburu (of which, according to the inscription, the four texts constitute the four faces)

is the name of a Gandharva and there is a Gandharva Tantra in the Viṣṇukrântâ group. Again according to the Mahâsiddhasâra Tantra, a second group of Tantras (the Açvakrântâ group) is allocated to the region extending from the Karatoyâ river (in the Dinajpur district of Bengal) to Java. Several Cîna Tantras are mentioned in this group.[1]

Now we shall attempt to reinforce our argument with architectural evidence. French savants agree that though the architecture of Fu-nan resembles (especially in ornamental details) the contemporary Pallava architecture, the new type introduced by Jayavarman II has very little in common with any South Indian school. One of the characteristic features of Dravidian structures is that the outermost courts and 'gopurams' (gates) are the most magnificent, and that as we approach the main sanctuary in the interior, everything is on a much smaller scale. In Kambuja it is just the opposite. The Khmers had an eye for the perspective, and the main shrine, situated on the highest (and innermost) of a series of terraces (each rising above the last), dominates the whole structure with its lofty towers.

M. Parmentier thinks that the common element in all the architecture of the Hinduised

[1] A. Avalon, Principles of Tantra, Introd., p. lxiii *et seq.*

Indo-China and the Archipelago is the ancient Indian architecture in light materials (*e.g.*, wood or wood and bricks) transported to these distant countries in its early Indian form.[1] This type, imported at different stages of its evolution, has developed in each different country under different conditions. According to him, a type of Indian architecture in durable materials (like stone) may have existed in India in early times and may also have influenced to some extent the architecture of the Hinduised Far East, but the lighter type could be more easily imported and had therefore the greater influence on these distant regions. The lighter type of Indian architecture, being of a perishable nature, has disappeared long ago, and thus is not available for comparison with the old monuments of Farther India.

Influence of North Indian Architecture.

The magnificent universities and monasteries built by the Pâla kings in Magadha and Bengal have disappeared, as they were brick structures, and as they had to bear the full brunt of the iconoclastic zeal of the Muslim invaders. But we have descriptions of some important Magadha shrines by Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing in the seventh century. However, before we

[1] Etudes Asiatiques, t. ii, pp. 195-241.

discuss monuments which have ceased to exist, we may consider the case of Budh-Gaya, which, notwithstanding comparatively recent restorations, is still perhaps the oldest surviving temple in Magadha. Groslier in his "Recherches sur les Cambodgiens" (p. 359) draws our attention to the striking similarity in essential features between the imposing tower of Budh-Gaya and a brick tower, on a far humbler scale, at Hanchei (Cambodia) of probably the seventh century. This Hanchei tower, though anterior to the period of Jayavarman II, does not show any South Indian influence, but is almost a copy on a modest scale of the tower of Budh-Gaya. Groslier is of the opinion that, from the seventh to the tenth centuries, the Kambuja architect is strongly influenced by this great Magadha shrine. Even when brick towers of such a type had gone out of fashion, we find reliefs of such towers on the walls of later shrines like the Bayon. Çaiva architecture of South India thus has to make room in Kambuja for the Buddhist architecture of Magadha.

Now let us see I-tsing's description of Nalanda towards the close of the seventh century.[1] The gate, which was part of the building, was very high and was ornamented

[1] Les Religieux Eminents.....par I-tsing, traduit par Chavannes, pp. 85-87.

with fine sculpture. The projecting roof formed long galleries round the whole building which was square in form. In the interior there were large open spaces. There were eight temples inside. There was a level terrace high up, which was however accessible. There was another terrace used as an observatory. The buildings were of three storeys (or on three successive terraces ?), each raised above the other. The temples in the interior were perfectly aligned.....There was a brick-paved esplanade—and one could come and go at one's ease. The brick structures rose to 30 or 40 feet in height. At the top have been represented human heads of the size of a man. There was a tank called the tank of the dragon (Nâga ?). This description is remarkably like that of the shrines of Hariharâlaya (Banteai Prakhan) and Amarendrapura (Banteai Chmar), with their Nâga tanks (Meboune), which Jayavarman II built soon after coming from Java. Again there is a description by Hiuen Tsang of a Magadha monastery (Watters, Vol. II, p. 105):—"This Mahâyânist monastery had four courts with three-storeyed halls, lofty terraces and a succession of passages. At the head of the road through the middle gate were three temples... the bases were surrounded by ballustrades and .....walls and stairs were ornamented with gilt work in relief." In Hiuen Tsang's description

of Nalanda (in his life by Beal, p. 111) we read of the college, with its towers congregated together, and of the outside courts which were of four stages. It has been said that as none of the existing ancient monuments of India resemble the Kambuja shrines, therefore the Kambuja architecture formed an independent school by itself. In this connection we must remember that very few really old temples have survived in North India; especially the Pâla buildings have entirely disappeared. But Chinese descriptions of Magadha Buddhist architecture do seem to point to something analogous to the Kambuja type.

The Kambuja dynasty of Bengal.

Now we come to a curious episode of Pâla history. A prince of the "Kamboja" dynasty conquered a portion of North-east Bengal (the Dinajpur district) from the Pâlas about the middle of the tenth century. Early in the eleventh century Mahipâla I won back this lost dominion from a descendant of this "Kamboja" prince. These foreign princes have left an inscription, dated 888 ç.e. (966 A. D.), on an artistically carved pillar at Bângargh (Dinajpur district). It commemorates the erection of a Çiva temple....."This temple of the Moon-crested Çiva.....was completed in the year 888 by that king of Gauḍa of the Kamboja family

(Kambojânvaya) whose ability.....are sung by the Vidyâdharas in heaven with delight."[1] The name Kamboja was applied by the Ceylonese chronicles to Kambuja itself. It is generally considered that these Kambojas of Bengal were Tibetans. The close relations, which I have tried to show between Bengal and Farther India, may have led some adventurer of the Kambuja royal family to try his fortunes in a region so remote from his own country. He need not have come with a large army. I do not want to press the point further, but the word Kambojânvaya seems to be curiously reminiscent of Kambuja epigraphy. It should be noted, however, that there is no known example of an attempt like this made from Indo-China in a region so distant from the sea-coast. If the foreign adventurers did really come from Kambuja, they came by the land-route.

The Khmer language.

Before we conclude, something might be said about the Khmer language.[2] This language forms with the Mon (the Telaing of Pegu) a group which has been called Mon-Khmer group, and a kinship has been recognised between

[1] Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1911, p. 619.

[2] This section is based on G. Masporo, Grammaire de la langua Khmere.

the Mon-Khmer group on one side and the Khasi (Assam), Kolarian or Munda (Chota Nagpur) and the Senoi (Malay Peninsula) languages on the other (according to Drs. Sten Konow, Blagden and Schmidt). We get specimens of old Khmer from inscriptions going back to 629 A.D. There has been no violent change since then. Sanscrit has introduced into the Khmer language a large number of words of administration, jurisprudence, geography, science, and religion which have been assimilated and adapted to the Khmer language. On the other hand, the Pâli words, which came in later with Hinayâna Buddhism, have generally preserved their original (written) form.

The Khmer alphabet is derived from the Pallava or the East Calukya alphabet of South India. As we have already said the words derived from Sanscrit are numerous—indeed they are so many that Aymonier says that an entire dictionary can be made out of the words of Sanscrit origin which are in current use in the Khmer language. These Sanscrit words have, however, been mostly modified according to certain fairly well-defined rules. *E. g.*, the Sanscrit 'ga' becomes 'k' in Khmer, 'ṭa' becomes 'd,' 'd' is 't', 'pa' often becomes 'ba', 'ba' becomes 'pa', 'j'='c', 'ç' and 'ṣ'='s' and 'v'='p'. We may give a few examples: Sans. devatâ=tevoda (in learned Khmer)=tepdâ (in popular Khmer);

puruṣa = baros = pros ; çâsana = sâsnâ = sas ; svarga = suorkea = suor ; vāk = veacâ = peak ; vimâna = phimean (in popular Khmer) and so on.[1]

There is a tendency in the Khmer language to be brief and monosyllabic. E.g., liṅga = liṅ ; viṣa (poison) = pis ; doṣa = tus ; vela (time) = pel ; hasta = hat (this is the abbreviation in North India too) ; pati = pti, çunya = sûn, vara = vrah ; etc. Sometimes the abbreviation is made by eliminating the vowel between two consonants, as *e.g.*, garuḍa = krut ; pati = pdei ; saras (tank) = sra. Sometimes the first letter of the word is eliminated, and, if this is 'n,' then the consonant of the second syllable is nasalised, as *e.g.*, nagara = aṅkor.

Cambodian Law.

Another sphere in which Indian influence has left its stamp is that of the existing Cambodian law. The eighth and the ninth books of the Mânava Dharma Çastra, which deal with civil and criminal law, still form, according to Leclère,[2] the basis of modern Cambodian legislation. But the Brahmanic code has been considerably modified by Buddhist influence. Especially the status of the woman, in the eye

[1] G. Maspero—Grammaire de la langue khmère, p. 181.

[2] A. Leclère—Recherches sur les origines Brahmaniques des lois Cambodgiennes.

of the law, is considerably higher than in Hindu Law. The wife is not so much dependent on the husband. Not only has she an exclusive right to her "strî-dhana" (her dowry or any property which she may have received from any member of her family before her marriage), but she shares jointly with her husband in any legacy he may get after their marriage. As regards rights of succession, the daughter is placed on the same footing as the son. Leclère ascribes this improvement of the woman's position in law to Buddhist influence combined with that of local Indo-Chinese customs. Notwithstanding these modifications, however, the present law of Cambodia is still deeply imbued with the spirit of the Brahmanic code—which the Brahman Kaundinya (the second of that name in Kambuja) is supposed to have been introduced there in the fourth century A.D.

Indeed Kambuja, Çrivijaya, etc., were so highly Indianised that Arab travellers of the tenth century included them in India without hesitation. Thus Ibn Rosteh, who lived for two years in the Khmer country, writes (903 A.D.): "Khmer is a portion of India"....."In the sea of East India the countries are those of India, Khmer, etc....and the people belong to India." Ma'sudi says (943 A.D.): "A race of Indians (of the family of Cain) occupies the country of Khmer in India...India is a vast country. It

is bounded by the country of Jâwaga (Çrivijaya) which is the kingdom of the Maharaja. Jâwaga, which separates China from India, belongs to the latter country."[1]

കേരള സാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

[1] Gabriel Ferrand, Relations des voyages et textes geographiques Arabs., Vol. I, pp. 65, 68 and 92.

APPENDIX

A SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE OF THE 'HINDUISED' KINGDOMS IN INDO-CHINA AND THE ARCHIPELAGO.

Kambuja (Cambodia)	Champa (South Annam)	Java, Sumatra, Bali, etc.	Burma, Siam, etc.	India.
1st century A.D.—The Brahman Kaundinya founds the kingdom of Fu-nan (which included Kambuja).	.....	Mention of Java in the Ramayana (this passage supposed to be not later than the 1st century A.D.)	...	Kushans in North India. Kâçyapa Mâtanga and Dharma-ratna preach Buddhism in China (68 A.D.). Embassy sent from India to China, during the period (80-105 A. D.), through Central Asia. Andhra Kings in the South.
2nd century.—Kings with the title of Fan (Chinese for Varman ?) in Fu-nan.	Foundation of Lin-yi (Chinese name for Champa)—192 A.D. Vo-can inscription (the earliest inscr. in Indo-China) mentions a king of the name of Cri Mara (circa end of 2nd century A. D.)	Tao Pien (Chinese for Deva Varman ?), King of Java, sends an embassy to China—132 A. D. Sanscrit name of Java mentioned by Ptolemy the geographer as 'Iabadiu' about 150 A. D.	146 A. D.—the traditional date of accession of the first Buddhist king of Arakan.	Spread of Mahayana doctrines. Gandhara school of sculpture. Kushan kings, Kaniska, Haviska, etc. in the north. Açvaghosa and Nagarjuna. Gautamiputra, the Andhra King, drives the Pallavas out of his kingdom (circa end of 2nd century). Pallavas settle down at Kanchi. Embassies sent from India to China by the S. E. sea-route (147-167 A.D.)
3rd century.—King Fan Chan sends an embassy from Fu-nan to India (circa 240). Fan Siun receives the Indian and Chinese ambassadors (c. 245).	Fan Hiong in alliance with Fu-nan wages war against China (270).	...	Siam, and probably Tenasserim also, included in the dependencies of Fu-nan early in the 3rd century.	Decline of the Kushan Empire. Murunda king at Pataliputra receives an embassy from Fu-nan. Vighna, a Buddhist monk from India, translates the Dhammapada in China (c. 224). Decline and fall of the Andhra kingdom in the South.
4th century.—King Chandana sends an embassy to China (c. middle of 4th century).	Fan Wen, a Chinese adventurer, usurps the throne of Champa and invades Chinese territory (349).	Sanscrit inscriptions commemorating a *yajña* performed by King Mulavarman at Kutei in East Borneo (early 4th century).	...	Samudragupta's campaigns. Vasubhandhu and Asanga. Pallava Grantha script first used in the 4th century.
1st half of 5th century.—A second Kaundinya 'Indianises' Fu-nan.	Bhadravarman I builds Bhadrecvara, the national temple of Champa, at Mi-son. Ganga-raja leaves the Champa throne to go on a pilgrimage to the Ganges c. (413).	Fa Hian visits Western Java (413). Gunavarman, a prince of Kashmir, preaches Buddhism in Java (423).	402—Traditional date (among Talaings or Mons of Pegu), of Buddhaghoṣa's return to Burma from Ceylon with the Tripitaka.	Chandragupta II and Kumaragupta, Sanscrit renaissance. Gupta school of sculpture. Fa Hian in India. Çiva-skandha-varman, Pallava king of Kanchi, rules as far north as the Krisna.
2nd half of 5th century.—King Kaundinya Jayavarman sends the monk Nagasena to the Chinese Court. Cult of Maheçvara in Fu-nan.	A son of the king of Fu-nan usurps the Champa throne (490).	Inscriptions of King Purnavarman of Taruma (West Java). Kan-to-li (N. E. Sumatra)—the earliest Hinduised kingdom in Sumatra. King Varanarendra sends an embassy to China c. 450 A. D.	...	Break up of the Gupta Empire.
1st half of 6th century.—Kambuja overthrows Fu-nan. Inscriptions of Bhavavarman (the earliest inscriptions of Kambuja c. middle of 6th century).	Rudravarman I, "son of an eminent Brahman", is repulsed in an attempt to invade Chinese territory (541).	Western Java falls into decay. Kings of the Kaundinya gotra in Bali—c. 518 A.D.—who were supposed to be related to the maternal uncle of the Buddha. Embassies from Bali to China in 518 A. D.	...	Hunas in North India. The Chalukya Pulakeçin I establishes himself at Badami (Bijapur district.) The Chinese pilgrim Song Yun in Gandhara (520).
2nd half of 6th century.—Mahendravarman—a warlike monarch.	Simhadeva is sent as ambassador from Kambuja to Champa to promote a friendly alliance.	...	...	Pallavas become the dominant power in South India.
616-639 A.D.—Içanavarman. His capital Içanapura is mentioned by Hiuen Tsang. His daughter marries a prince of Champa. Bhavavarman II (639).	Chinese invasion of Champa during Çambhuvarman's reign (595, 629). Numerous Buddhist texts taken away by the victors. Statue of King Kandarpa-dharma (631) erected in China.	Kingdom of Kalinga in Central Java. Embassies from Kalinga and Bali to the Chinese Court during the period 637-649.	639—New era introduced by Thinga Raja (who was originally a monk), king of Pugan. Talaings (of Tenasserim and Pegu) at this period more civilised than the Burmese of Pagan. Hiuen Tsang at this period speaks of Çri-Kṣetra (Prome in Arakan), Ramanalanka (Ramanya—kingdom of Pegu), and Dvaravati (South Siam).	Harṣavardhana in North India. Hiuen Tsang's travels. Chinese envoy at Harṣa's Court. Narasimhavarman Pallava defeats Pulakçin II. "Seven Pagodas" built.
2nd half of 7th century.—Jayavarman I (664, 667)—a pacific monarch. After him there is a gap in Kambuja history of more than a century.	King Prakaçadharma (653, 679)—the grandson of King Içanavarman of Kambuja.	Queen Simo—an ideal ruler of Kalinga. I-tsing in Çrivijaya (Sumatra).	...	Break up of Harṣa's empire. I-tsing's travels in India (673-685). 60 Chinese pilgrims visit India towards the end of the 7th century. In 692 an embassy is sent to China by a Chalukya prince of the Mysore region. In the 7th and 8th centuries (T'ang period) large numbers of Indian Buddhist teachers visit China.
8th century.—Kambuja split up into two states. Naval raid by Çrivijaya on the capital of Kambuja.	Capital of Champa removed to the south. Raids of pirates from 'Java'. Temple of Devi of Kauthara destroyed.	Inscription of Sanjaya (732)—a king of Central Java. Agastya cult in Java. Çrivijaya in Sumatra becomes the capital of an empire including Central Java, portions of Malay Peninsula, etc. Çrivijaya a stronghold of Mahayana Buddhism. Borobodur built.	Vikrama dynasty of kings rule a territory north of Pegu (Hamsâvati) in the 8th century.	Kashmir kings receive investiture from China (720, 733). Embassy to China of king of Kanauj (731). A Kanchi ruler receives investiture from the Chinese Emperor. Pala Dynasty founded in Bengal (c. 750.) Pallavas defeated by Chalukyas (740).
Jayavarman I comes from 'Java', builds three capitals in succession. Cult of Devaraja established by the Brahman Hiranyadama. Beginning of Khmer architecture Bantei Chamar, etc	Harivarman I (803-817)—"the Sun who burnt the Chinese comparable to the darkness of night."	Çrivijaya's sphere of influence extends as far as Kambuja up to the reign of Jayavarman II. Copper plates with inscriptions found in Bali from the 9th century.	Sukhodaya (North Siam), Haribhunjaya (Lamphun), etc., acknowledge Kambuja supremacy during the 9th century. Arab sea traders reach the Burmese coast (middle of 9th century).	Campaigns of Dharmapala in North India (810). Amoghavarṣa (the Balahara of the Arab historians) in the Deccan (815-877).
...varman III (869-877). Indravarman I (877-889) builds Bakong (the first of the great raced buildings of Kambuja).	Indravarman II (875-88...) is elected king by leading citizens. He is a fervent Buddhist. Lokeçvara temple (at Dongduong) built.	Balaputradeva, King of Çrivijaya, requests permission of King Devapala of Bengal to build a Buddhist monastery at Nalanda.	Ari (Tantric) Buddhist priests in Pagan wield great influence for centuries down to Anuruddha's reign (11th century).	Devapala—the greatest of the Palas of Bengal. Nalanda inscr. mentions friendly relations with Çrivijaya. Pala school of sculpture. Tantrayana becomes popular. Bhoja empire of Kanauj. Rise of the Cholas.
...varman founds Angkor Thom. Ba...n (the at Çiva temple) built. Inscriptions in both ...th and North Indian scripts.	Jaya Simhavarman I (898) consecrates a statue of his aunt as Haromâdevi.	Central Java won back from Çrivijaya domination by Hindu princes from East Java. Prambanan temples (with Ramayana reliefs) built (early 10th century).	...	Pala Kings at war with Kanauj. Parantaka Chola (907) captures Madura and invades Ceylon.
...avarman I, Içanavarman II, Jayavarman ... (928-944)—Capital removed to Koh Ker, ...arṣavarman II.	...avarman III (916-959)—describes his father ... "the cleverest of sages in the six darçana, Panini's vyakarana, etc.	Decay of Central Java. Mpoe Sindok (944) founds a powerful state in East Java.	...	Pala Kings vanquished by the Paribara monarchs of Kanauj.

Kambuja (Cambodia)	Champ (South Annam)	Java, Sumatra, Bali, etc.	Burma, Siam, etc.	India.
944-968.—Rajendravarman. Angkor Thom restored as capital. The king's minister, a fervent Buddhist, consecrates several Mahayana images.	Jaya Indravarman I (965) repairs the damages committed in Champa by the troops of Kambuja.	Lokapala and Mukutavamça (Buddhist princes) in East Java.	...	First Chinese inscription at Budh Gaya (c. middle of 10th century) by the Chinese monk Chei. Incursion of Kambojas in Pala Bengal (966.) Second Chalukya dynasty of Kalyani. 300 Chinese monks leave China for India (964). In 966 A.D., 157 Chinese pilgrims accept the Chinese Emperor's summons to go on a mission to India.
968-1001.—Jayavarman V. Growing importance of Mahayana Buddhism in Kambuja. A Brahman from Brindaban marries the King's sister. Bapuon built.	Annam (north) becomes independent of China (980) and wages war against Champa. Capital of Champa removed to Vijaya in the south (1000).	King Dharmavamça of (992) East Java, defeats the Çrivijaya king. Buddhist shrine builtt at Negapatam (near Madras) by Çrivijaya rulers with the Chola king's permisson.	...	Mahipala restores Pala power. Raja Raj Chola conquers South India. Friendly relations with Çrivijaya.
1001-1049.—Udayadityavarman I. Suryavarman I (1002-1049), the first Buddhist king of Kambuja, also builds many Hindu temples.	Jaya Simhavarman II slain by the Annamites. The capital Vijaya sacked (1044).	King Erlangga, (1010-1042) a 'chakravarti' sovereign and patron of Kavi literature. Statue of the king as incarnation of Viṣṇu. Division of his kingdom into Kediri and Jangala (1042). Naval raid on Çrivijaya by Rajendra Chola (1031). Dharmakirti of Çrivijaya considered to be the greatest Buddhist scholar of this age.	1010—King Anuruddha (Anawrahta) ascends the throne of Pagan (Arimardanapura). He makes war on the Talaing King of Thaton (Sudharmanagara) to obtain possession of the Tripitaka. The conquered Talaings (or Mons) of Pegu civilise their Burmese conquerors. King Anuruddha establishes his supremacy over the Shan states, Arakan, etc. Anuruddha is said to have visited Bengal.	Campaigns of Rajendra Chola by sea and land. Hostilities with Çrivijaya. Chola School of architecture. Mahmud of Ghazni in North India. Atiça, the Bengali Buddhist monk, visits Sumatra to become the pupil of Dharmakirti. In 1038 Atiça goes on his mission to Tibet and converts the Tibetan King to Mahayana Buddhism at Tholing monastery. Chinese inscriptions at Budh Gaya (1022). After 1036 relations between India and China cease abruptly on account of a strong Confucian reaction.
1049-1090.—Udayadityavarman II (1049-1065). General Sangrama quells many revolts. Harṣavarman III (1065-1090). Çankara Panditaguru of the two kings—brings about a reaction in favour of Brahmanism.	Restoration of the temple of Devi of Kauthara (1050). Northern provinces of Champa ceded to Annam (1069). Prince Pan, victor in a war with Kambuja, becomes king with the title of Parama Bodhisattva (1081).	Kedah, a vassal state of Çrivijaya attacked by Virarajendra Chola (1068). Kavi literature flourishes in Kediri.	The Ananda (the first of the greater temples in Burma) built (1090).	Rajendra Kulottunga I—the last great Chola King (1074-1086). Rise of the Sena dynasty in Bengal.
1090-1112.—Jayavarman VI (1090-1108). Dharanindravarman I (1108-1112). Great influence of Divakara Pandita—the guru of the two kings.	Unsuccessful attempt of Jaya Indravarman II to win back the lost provinces from the Annamites.	The poet Triguna (author of Krisnâyana) at the court of King Varsajuya of Kediri (1104).	...	Rampala (1084-1130) conquers north Behar. The poet Bilhana and Vijñaneçvara (author of the Mitakṣara) at the court of Vikramâṅka of Kalyani.
1112-1152.—Suryavarman II (posthumous name—Paramaviṣṇuloka). Angkor Vat built. Diplomatic relations with China renewed. Champa overrun.	Champa becomes a dependency of Kambuja (1145). Jaya Harivarman I (1147-1162) drives out the Cambodians from Champa.	Kameçvara, king of Kediri (1120-1104)—the hero of the Panji romance. His court poet, Mpu Dharmaja, is the author of Smaradahana. King Jayabaya of Kediri (1135-1155) and his court poet Penoolooh—the author of Bharat Yuddha and Harivamça.	Siam divided into two states, during the 12th Century, Lavapuri in the south, and Syam or Sukhodaya in the north. Both were subordinate to Cambodia. A King of Arakan repairs Budh Gaya (1118).	Palas, pushed out of Bengal by the Senas, retire into South Behar, Ramanuja at the Hoysala Court (Mysore). Hoysala style of architecture and sculpture.
1152-1182.—Harṣavarman IV, Dharanindravarman II (1152-1182) a devout Buddhist. Surprise attack by the fleet of Champa on the capital of Kambuja. Friendly relations between Kambuja and Ceylon.	Jaya Indravarman IV (1163-1170)—a learned scholar of Mahayana and the Dharmaçastras. He takes the Kambuja capital by surprise and retires with a large booty.	Java and San-fot-si (Çrivijaya) mentioned by Chinese authors as two most important commercial countries (end of 12th century).	Ceylonese raiders sack Bassien.	Sena kings become champions of Brahmanism in Bengal.
1182-1201.—Jayavarman VII, a fervent Buddhist, the last great sovereign of Kambuja. He founds 102 hospitals throughout his kingdom. Champa and Pegu conquered.	Champa, conquered by Jayavarman VII, is divided into two vassal states by the conqueror.	Kavi inscriptions of Sringa, ruler of Kédiri (1194-1210).	Pagan (Pukam in Chinese) conquered by Jayavarman VII. Rise of Ceylonese religious influence in in Burma (c. end of 12th century).	Prithviraja defeated by Muhammad Ghori (1192). Muslim conquest of North India. Buddhists monasteries (in Pala territory) destroyed. Buddhist monks fly to Tibet and Nepal.
1201-1220.—Indravarman II. Evacuation of Champa.	Jaya Parameçvaravarman II left on the Champa throne by the retiring Kambuja troops.	Kingdom of Singasari (or Tumapel) founded by Ken Arok (1220). Kediri and Jangala reduced to submission. The Prajnaparamita image of this period,—one of the best examples of Javanese sculpture,	...	Sultan Altamash at Delhi. First Muhammedan attack on Orissa. Orissa architecture.
2nd half of 13th century.—Jayavarman VIII (1243-1295) marries the daughter of a Brahman of the Bharadvaja gotra. Siamese inroads into Kambuja. Visit of Cheou Ta-kouan (companion of the Chinese envoy of Kublai Khan) to the court of Crindravarman (1296). Bantei Srei—the last great Khmer temple built.	Champa resists successfully the attempts of the Chinese Emperor (Kublai Khan) to reduce it to submission (1285).	Radon Vijaya compels the Chinese troops despatched by Kublai Khan to retire from Java (1293). Vijaya is crowned the first King of Majapahit (in E. Java) with the title of Kritarajasa (1294).	A Thai prince, about the middle of the 13th century, captures Sukhodaya and proclaims himself independent of Kambuja and assumes the title of Indraditya. Kublai Khan's army defeats the king of Pagan. Anuruddha's dynasty comes to an end (1298). Shans over-run Burma. Rama Khamheng (1283-1298) conquers the whole of Siam. The king is a zealous Hinayana Buddhist.	Campaigns of Alauddin Khiliji in the Deccan (1294).
1st half of 14th century.—Crindrajayavarman (1307). The Brahman Mahanatha is the adhyapakâdhipa (prince of professors) at the Kambuja Court. Jayavarmaparameçvara consecrates an acrama founded by his Brahman hota.	Jaya Simhavaran III (1307) marries a Javanese princess and cedes nrth Amaravati to win the hand of an Annamo princess. Champa become, an Annite province (1312). King of Champa flies amitea (1318). Annamites driven pack (1326).to Jav	Jayaviṣṇuvardhani—the great queen of Majapahit (1329-1350). Chandi Panataran built. Buddhism tinged with Tantrism in Java and Sumatra.	1350—Ayodhya founded in South Siam. Decline of the northern kingdom of Sukhodaya. 1365—Foundation of the Shan capital of Ava.	Malik Kafur's campaigns in South India (1302-1311) Vijayanagar founded (1336). Muhammad Tughlak (1325-1351),
2nd half of 14th century.—Inscription in incorrect Sanscrit on a column engraved with Mahayana images.	Annamite capital seized several times by a warlike king of Champa (1360-1390).	Hyam Wuruk (Rajasanagara)—the most famous king of Java (1350-1385). Conquest of the Archipelago and portions of the Malay Peninsula by Majapahit. Nagarakritagama—a chronicle written by the court poet Prapancha. Fall of Çrivijaya, 1377.	...	Firoz Shan Tughlak (1351-1388). Timur's invasion (1398).
15th century.—Angkor abandoned (c. early 15th century) by Cambodian kings under Siamese pressure. Age of inscriptions comes to an end. Cambodia reduced to a pretty principality struggling with the Annamites in the east and the Siamese in the west.	The sister of Indravarman V (1400, 1432), a Muslim princess, married to a Majapahit monarch. Vijaya capital of Champa, taken by the Annamities (1446). Fall of Champa (1471),	Kritavijaya marries a Muslim princess of Champa. Spread of Islam in Java. Fall of Majapahit—1478 Java and Sumatra converted to Islam. Hindus & Buddhists seek shelter in Bali.	1404-1434—Narameikhla, King of Arakan, an exile at the court of the King of Ganr (Bengal). Muhammadan titles adopted since then hy Arakanese princes. 1475—King of Pegu's mission to Ceylon. Kalyâni inscriptions.	Saiyad and Lodi dynasties at Delhi. Rise to power of Vijayanagara. Kabir, Nanak and Chaitanya.

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

p. 1 ff.		for Funan	read	Fu-nan.
p. 1 line 21	...	Nan Tsi Chu	...	Nan-ts'i-shu.
p. 2 line 24	...	Kiso	...	Kiao.
p. 2 foot-note	...	p. 275	...	p. 256.
p. 3 ff.	...	Coedes	...	Cœdès
p. 8 line 3	...	Suddhodana	...	Çuddhodana.
p. 8 para. 1	...	Po-li has now been identified definitely with the island of Bali by Prof. Krom.		
p. 10 line 11	for	Yatiao	...	Ye-tiao.
p. 16 line 8	...	Teou Kiu-li	...	T'eou-kiu-li.
p. 20 ff.	...	Linyi	...	Lin-yi.
p. 20 line 18	...	The word Hou means 'barbarians' in general. Up to the 5th century the Indians were included among the barbarians by the Chinese, but subsequently a distinction was made.		
p. 21 line 6	...	Chan-tan	...	Chan t'an
p. 26 line 12	...	The more correct restoration of the name Sanghapâla is Sanghabhara (*cf.* Bagchi-Le Canon Bouddhique p. 415).		
p. 27 ff.	...	Chenla	...	Chen-la.
p. 27 line 12	...	Tomu	...	Tö-mu.
p. 29 line 20	...	Çrutavarmanmula		Çrutavarmamula.
p. 31 line 21	...	Makong	...	Mekong
p. 49 line 11	...	Souei-chou	...	Souei-shu.
p. 49 line 12	...	Ye-cho-na-Sien	...	Ye-sho-na-sien.
p. 51 last line	...	Svai Chuo	...	Svai Chno.

p. 52 line 4 ...	Dhatri	...	Dhâtrin.
p. 55 foot-note 2	Mahendravarman	...	Jayavarman.
p. 57 line 11 ...	Gambira	...	Gambhîra.
p. 58 line 8 ...	this	...	his.
p. 71 line 10 ...	Yavadviça	...	Yavadvîpa.
p. 73 line 23 ...	Permentier	...	Parmentier.
p. 80 line 19 ...	Kunjara Kunja	...	Kuñjara Kuñja.
p. 83 line 9 ...	Viṣṇu-vala	...	Viṣṇu-bala.
p. 86 line 6 ...	(724-791)	...	(724-791 ç. e.)
p. 90 line 6 ...	Kouen	...	Koulen.
p. 101 line 11 ...	Çiva-oma	...	Çivasoma.
p. 104 line 2 ...	Chhmar	...	Chamar.
p. 112	At the end of para. 1 add a foot-note :—Barth, I. S. C. C., p. 354. At the end of line 27 add a foot-note : Barth, I. S. C. C., p. 354.		
p. 114 line 16 ...	Yajnas	...	Yajñas.
p. 129 ff. ...	Pâtanjali	...	Patañjali.
p. 137 line 1 ...	The more correct restoration of Phi-meanakas should be Vimânokas.		
p. 139 line 1 of 2nd para. ...	J'œnvre	...	J'œuvre.
p. 156 line 7 ...	hotar	...	hotrin.
p. 169 line 7 ...	Ranakesari	...	Ranakeçari.
p. 174 line 20 ...	Kanâda	...	Kaṇâda.
p. 192 foot-note line 3 ...	dvisatam	...	dviṣatam.
p. 194 line 4 from bottom ...	Suvavarman	...	Sûryavarman.
p. 213 n. 3 ...	Song che	...	Song-she.
p. 214 line 15 ...	Râmânya	...	Ramanya.
p. 221 line 3 ...	Candaroci	...	Caṇḍaroci.
p. 232 line 4 from bottom ...	Bantel	...	Bantei.

p. 263 note 2 on Uddiyāna.	...	On maturer consideration I give up the identification of Uddiyâna with Orissa.	
p. 278 top of 2nd para.	...	Kambuja	... Kamboja.
p. 279 end of 1st para.	...	It is interesting to note in this connection that Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterjee proposes to derive the name of the Koch tribes of the Tibeto-Chinese family from Kamboja. The Kamboja Kings, who usurped part of Bengal, would therefore be the predecessors of the Koch Kings of Kochbehar.	
p. 279 note 2	...	Masporo	... Maspéro.
„	...	langua	... langue.

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1. Some Contribution of South India to **Indian Culture** by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., Demy 8vo., pp. 468. Rs. 6.

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